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CAN CHOLERA BE AVERTED?

In the discussion of measures for the prevention of cholera, it is premised that the germ origin of the disease is admitted; that cholera is contagious, and portable from place to place; that India is its home, and that it is essentially a preventable disease. The commencement of the work of prevention, therefore, should, scientifically speaking, be in its native home, and there is little doubt in the mind of the writer that the vigorous enforcement by the Indian Government of the necessary sanitary measures, would thoroughly eradicate cholera, and make India no longer a dangerous member of the international family. The fact of its endemicity is not disputed. No other country admits that cholera is endemic within its borders, and nearly all nations have suffered from their contiguity to this deadly neighbor, whose atmosphere is pestilential to the pilgrim, and whose "cup of cold water" is death dealing to the traveler. That the world tamely submits to repeated inoculations of cholera by another nation, however friendly, is simply due to the fact that public sentiment has not yet crystallized upon this point.

It has little bearing upon the question whether or not the bacillus of Koch or of Emmerich be accepted as the true cause of cholera,

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for the method of their growth, propagation, and cultivation are the same. That the two forms of bacilli are present in a given case, and can be roughly and easily differentiated in a gelatine culture by the differences in the shape of their colonies, is not an essential factor in prophylaxis or treatment. It is simply an etiological refinement. Whether one or both are hereafter determined to be the cause of the disease, is an inquiry the solution of which cannot affect the treatment, and the directions necessary for the destruction of the one will apply with equal force to the other. The object of all attempts at disinfection is to destroy germs, and the object of quarantine is to exclude them until the process of disinfection is complete.

In the absence of international treaties having for their objects the suppression or "stamping out" of disease in its endemic habitat, and the prevention of the spread of epidemics, a system of international notification has become necessary. It is accomplished very efficiently on the part of the United States by its representatives abroad. Every consular officer is now bound by existing regulations of the State Department to inform the Government of the existence of any contagious disease in the district to which he may be assigned; and in the event of the departure of a vessel from an infected port for any port in the Republic he is also required to inform the local health authorities of the port of destination. In the case of sailing vessels, notification by mail is deemed sufficient, and in case of steamers, the telegraph is used. When a dangerous epidemic is prevalent in any consular district, if in the judgment of the Home Government the exigency requires it, a sanitary inspector is appointed and attached to the consulate. The duty of this officer is to keep the consular officer fully informed of the progress of the epidemic, to inspect vessels bound for the United States, including their passengers, crew and cargo, and as well to investigate the sanitary history of emigrants intending to sail thereon. This system of notification, which was originally devised by the late Surgeon-General Woodworth, is as complete as is possible at the present time. For economic reasons the appointment of these inspectors is only temporary, made from time to time to tide over a present exigency, but there are many reasons why in coming time, as the growth of the knowledge of the power of applied hygiene extends, it may become apparent to the legislative branch of the Government that the permanent employment of

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skilled medical men to be attached to the consulates is demanded by the needs of the country.

The old doctrine of detention at quarantine, with its barbarous and cruel exactions, has gone to the limbo of exploded dogmas. Its enforcement was due to the lack of information of the cause of contagious diseases, and was based upon the observation that all contagious diseases were characterized by a period of incubation. It was thought that if the vessel were detained in quarantine until the passing of the period of incubation, the danger of the importation of the disease would be over, but owing to the extremely limited knowledge of the length of that period, it was apparently thought wiser to err, if at all, on the safe side, and the term of detention at quarantine was fixed at forty days. It is now known that germs may remain in a state of hibernation almost indefinitely, and that although the passengers and immigrants may be detained for a long period without any discoverable traces of disease, yet when the cargo is taken out, and the germs exposed to air currents, they may be wafted into suitable propagating media, and there revivified.

The following are the Woodworth propositions on this point, now undisputed in their practical bearing :*

"V. The period of morbific activity of the poison—which lasts, under favorable conditions, about three days for a given crop—is characterized by the presence of bacteria, which appear at the end of the period of incubation, and disappear at the end of the period of morbific activity. That is to say, a cholera ejection, or material containing such, is harmless both before the appearance and after the disappearance of bacteria, but is actively poisonous during their presence.

"VI. The morbific properties of the poison may be preserved in *posse* for an indefinite period in cholera ejections dried during the period of incubation, or of infection matter dried during the period of activity.

"VII. The dried particles of cholera-poison may be carried (in clothing, bedding, etc.) to any distance ; and when liberated may find their way direct to the alimentary canal through the medium of the air—by entering the mouth and nose and being swallowed with the saliva—or, less directly, through the medium of water or food in which they have lodged."

The practice of detention alone, is therefore a delusion and a snare. The germs must be destroyed. Modern quarantines are inspection stations, where the application of germicides may be made most safely and efficaciously. Simultaneously with the

* "Cholera Epidemic of 1873," Washington, 1875.

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crystallization of medical thought upon the truth of the germ theory of contagion, there has come—not less in the interest of commerce than of science—a demand for the more speedy and effectual application of germicides; for the more speedy the destruction of the germs, the earlier the release of the vessel, and her restoration to the carrying trade fleet.

The President of the Board of Health of the State of Louisiana, is the first in this country to test the efficacy of the modern theory. His plan is as follows :*

"When a vessel arrives from a port against which quarantine precautions are required, she is brought alongside the wharf, where she finds every arrangement for the rapid discharging and reloading of cargo, if required. All on board, officers, crew and passengers, with their effects, are at once taken ashore, where, in a room provided, everything they carry, apparel and baggage, is subjected to powerful disinfection. All clothing and articles that will admit of it will be laundried, and in this process subjected to boiling water and the hot iron. The clothing worn is presently exchanged for other already treated, and this, in turn, disinfected. The passengers and crew will be received in commodious quarters, comfortably prepared for them, there to undergo the prescribed detention or observation determined according to circumstances of the possibility of their being infected with the disease in its incubatory stage. If one should fall ill, he is at once removed to a properly isolated hospital, distantly located. The period of observation concluded, without evidences of infection, these people will be returned aboard their ship, which during their absence has been cleansed and disinfected in every part. A strict surveillance will be continued over all shipping in port. The first division of the new system provides for the supplemental station for infected vessels only. The second, for the management of persons arriving at the upper or regular station. These having been described, there remains to be considered the third, for the sanitary treatment of cargo and ship. A detailed account of this process is unnecessary here. It is sufficient to mention that its speedy and effective accomplishment is assured in the employment of a full corps of acclimated stevedores, a powerful tug-boat provided with flushing hose, steam siphon, a battery of twelve furnaces for the energetic evolvement of germicidal gases (we will use sulphurous acid gas), driven into the ship's hold by a powerful fan at the rate of six thousand cubic feet per minute. In this manner, after thorough washing, the gas in immense volume and with tremendous force is driven into the limbers and air strakes, into every crevice and part of that ship until she is completely filled. In doing this we displace the mephitic and dangerous atmosphere inclosed in her when she started from Rio, we will suppose, and which, if allowed, would have been set free at our levee—the infected atmosphere of Rio to commingle with the atmosphere of New Orleans, deadly ripe,

* "Review of Quarantine and Maritime Sanitation," Joseph Holt, M.D., New Orleans, 1885.

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perhaps, for its reception. We have displaced this not only with a non-infected atmosphere, but with one intensely germicidal—one that destroys organic elements in the air, or on exposed surfaces, with instant greediness. The decks, ballast, and all such parts as are usually treated with carbolic acid or other disinfectant fluids, objectionable on account of odor, staining or inefficiency, will be subjected to the action of an odorless, colorless solution of the bi-chloride of mercury, the most powerful and unsparing germicidal agent known."

If carried out with strictness, this plan should succeed. We shall know positively in a season or two; at any rate, the experiment is well worthy of trial. Congress has not yet provided for the permanent equipment of the quarantine stations of the United States, and as they are only temporary in character, hurriedly established to meet an exigency, little can be expected of them now. The usual detention, and as rapid disinfection as the primitive methods in use will permit, are all that are practicable at present. It is proper to say, however, that through the Revenue Cutter Service, the coast guard is efficiently maintained, and the quarantine hospitals are under the control of the Marine Hospital Service.

In case the disease should appear in the interior, or on shore, certain sanitary police measures will become necessary. They may be summarized in few words: municipal cleanliness, isolation of the sick, disinfection of dejecta and all things in proximity to the sick. In the term municipal cleanliness is included the destruction or thorough disinfection of all organic filth wherever found, whether on the ground or in the water supply. To insure this requires the most careful police regulations, watchful and systematic inspections of the city in its thoroughfares, its by-ways and alleys, its markets and tenements, and the frequent chemical and microscopical examination of the water. The quarantine in all places where a State has not efficiently provided for it, should be left to the care of the Government, and the necessary legislation urged upon Congress to perfect it. When cholera breaks out in a place, in addition to the other municipal measures mentioned, special hospitals and public laundries should be provided; and cremation of the dead is also to be advised.

As regards personal prophylaxis, I find that my allotted space is exhausted, and I shall therefore only refer to the recent incomplete Spanish experiments in regard to the inoculation of the attenuated cholera-microbe as a preventive of cholera. If it were proved that the action of the cholera germ upon the human system was such

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as to secure an immunity from a second attack in a fair proportion of cases, as does the bacillus of small-pox, it might be a fair deduction that inoculation with the attenuated germ might altogether prevent an attack of cholera, or modify it so as to rob it of its terrors; but so far from its having been proved, all that is known of cholera seems to force the conclusion that one attack only predisposes to another by increasing the susceptibility of the mucous lining of the intestine to the peculiar irritation of the parasite. Doctor Ferran, from present appearances, has a heavy task yet before him, before his hypothesis arrives at the dignity of an assured fact.

JOHN B. HAMILTON.

WHETHER Koch has really discovered the actual cholera germ, or Ferran is destined to rank with Jenner; whether von Pettenkofer is right in substituting a soil causation for his discarded ground-water theory; or whether the contagionists defeat the non-contagionists in the wordy battle now being waged between them —all these questions have a minor significance for the sanitarian in this country in view of the undisputed fact that Asiatic cholera never originates on this side of the Atlantic.

For us the disease is a foreign enemy, which, by international comity, should be prevented, through the good offices of friendly powers, from attacking us. No vessel from a port infected with cholera, or carrying persons or things from an infected region, should be allowed to depart for this country without being first made secure against the possibility of conveying the disease. If this could be accomplished it would of itself render unnecessary all other means of combating cholera so far as we are concerned; but although repeated attempts have been made to this end, the exigencies of commerce, aside from all other considerations, have thus far sufficed to defeat them; and it is more than doubtful if the International Sanitary Conference, now in session at Rome, will be more successful in this direction than its predecessors.

Failing this, there remains the duty of meeting the disease at the various avenues of entrance into the country, and by thoroughly enforced measures of sanitation of preventing it from being landed upon our shores. The difficulties in the way of accomplishing this end lie not alone in vessels actually infected or with known cases of

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the disease on board, but also in the personal effects and household goods of immigrants from infected localities arriving on apparently healthy vessels from apparently healthy ports. The system of notification adopted by the National Government is defective in this: That it embraces only vessels sailing from infected ports or from ports in the vicinity of infected localities. This is not enough. It must be remembered that the existence of Asiatic cholera is rarely voluntarily disclosed; on the contrary, it is usually concealed and denied as long as concealment and denial are possible. The history of the present epidemic, like that of all previous ones, furnishes abundant proof of this. Cholera occurred in Marseilles in the fall of 1883, but those cognizant of the facts were sworn to secrecy, and its existence was not acknowledged until the spring of 1884. It existed at Toulon long before the fact was admitted; the first cases in Italy were concealed, as were those in Paris; and Spain has persistently denied its presence until within a short time. It must also be remembered that means of intercommunication are so numerous and rates of travel for emigrants are so low, that the cholera poison may be conveyed from regions at very great distances from the port of embarkation. In 1873, for example, as I have cited elsewhere,* there were outbreaks of epidemic cholera in Ohio, Minnesota and Dakota, caused by cholera poison packed up in the household effects of emigrants in Holland, Sweden and Russia respectively. When the infected goods were unpacked in the interior of this continent they set free the poison which caused the local outbreaks.

These considerations—to wit: That the disease has always been introduced by immigrants, and that it is not practicable to learn in advance what immigrants are dangerous in this respect—lead me to the conclusion that during the existence of Asiatic cholera on the European continent, at least, the safety of this country can only be assured by enforcing a thorough system of sanitary supervision over all immigrant travel from the time of the arrival of the vessel in the roadstead to the settlement of the immigrant at his point of ultimate destination. Such supervision should deal not only with the person of the immigrant, but should embrace the thorough disinfection and purification of every article

* Practical Recommendations for the Prevention and Exclusion of Asiatic Cholera in North America. An Address delivered at the opening of the National Conference of State Boards of Health, St. Louis, October 13, 1884.

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which he may bring with him.* For this purpose the vessel should be detained long enough to establish a perfect sanitary condition of her entire *personnel*, contents and belongings. If cholera, yellow fever, small-pox or typhus be discovered on board, she should be removed to a refuge station, or other suitable place out of the track of commerce; the sick should be isolated; the compromised or unprotected placed under observation, and the appropriate precautionary measures duly enforced with them. And neither vessel, cargo, passengers nor crew should be released until they have been rendered incapable of conveying the disease to others. The period of detention for this purpose need not be long, but whatever time is necessary to secure the end should be rigidly exacted. Under some circumstances surveillance of the passengers after they are released and until they have reached their ultimate destination should be continued.

The feasibility and the value of such a system of sanitary supervision have already been demonstrated both in yellow fever and in small-pox. To the extent that it is enforced in the present contingency the probability of an epidemic of Asiatic cholera in the United States is reduced. But in any event it requires to be supplemented by State, municipal and domestic sanitation; for it is especially true of cholera that it derives all its epidemic destructiveness from filthy conditions and especially from excremental uncleanliness. In Illinois, the State Board of Health, with this in view, took steps toward a systematic and thorough sanitary survey of the entire State as early as the first of July, 1884. This work embraces a house-to-house inspection, covering the health conditions of some 330,000 houses, both in the domicile and upon the premises; a similar inspection of all public institutions, asylums, jails, almshouses, etc.; of every public school building and its surroundings; and of all railway stations, depots, and other buildings and grounds. The sanitary defects and evils disclosed by these inspections have been already remedied to a very gratifying extent,

* I have repeatedly urged the suspension of immigration from infected districts of other countries as an alternative measure, and the late Mr. Frelinghuysen, then Secretary of State, caused a section to be inserted in the public health bill prepared for Congress last winter, giving the President authority to issue a proclamation to this effect upon the recommendation of the national health authority. The fact that every epidemic of cholera in this country is directly attributable to the immigrant and his effects, is sufficient argument for this measure.

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although the work is not yet completed. Especial reference is paid to the correction of conditions unfavorably affecting water supplies; thousands of vaults have been emptied and disinfected, stagnant water drawn off and the ground cleansed; and, in short, every effort is being made to secure the best possible sanitary condition of every portion of the State. In addition to this, plans have been formulated, and provision made for their enforcement whenever the approach of the disease renders such action necessary; such plans to embrace the maintenance of a service of sanitary quarantine and supervision at the State boundary lines, including provision for the care of the sick and exposed, and measures to prevent any spread of the disease from place to place within the State should it, unfortunately, be introduced at any point. Within the infected locality itself the health authorities will take charge of every house where the disease appears; patients will be rigidly isolated, and no more persons allowed on the premises than are absolutely necessary; whatever sanitary defects are discovered will be at once remedied, and thorough cleanliness enforced; especial care must be paid to the condition of the water supply, and its protection from possibility of cholera pollution; the dejecta from the patient must be thoroughly disinfected, as well as all articles of clothing, bedding, etc., which have come in contact with the sick, and if there be any difficulty in the way of their thorough disinfection, such articles will be at once destroyed by fire. Every person in the infected house and locality will be placed under surveillance so as to promptly meet the first symptoms of the disease.

In brief, my experience with Asiatic cholera since 1850, both as a practicing physician and as a sanitary official, coincides with the results of my experience in the management of epidemics of yellow fever and small-pox, and warrants the assertion that, while an outbreak of either of these diseases may be promptly suppressed by the intelligent application of well-understood principles of preventive medicine and sanitary science, their epidemic extension may be prevented by the active enforcement of a thorough quarantine of observation and sanitation. I have no sympathy with the *laissez-faire* policy which condemns quarantine for such diseases—not, be it understood, a mere quarantine of detention, but such a quarantine of surveillance, isolation, disinfection and sanitation as is herein indicated. These measures, which are the essence of

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quarantine practice as advocated by practical sanitarians in this country, may be confidently relied upon as the best means of combatting cholera.

JOHN H. RAUCH.

THE study of Asiatic cholera is beset with difficulties, but enough is known to formulate rational plans both of treatment and prevention. The disease always prevails for one or more years in Europe before it appears in this country, so that there is always an abundance of time to prepare for it. It has always come in ships, on board which the pestilence has already broken out at sea. The great importance of a good quarantine system is evident. All the poison of cholera is contained in the discharges from the stomach and bowels, and possibly the kidneys. The disease almost always breaks out among immigrants in the steerage of passenger ships, and it is very difficult to completely purify and disinfect such crowded ships before arrival at Quarantine. The rest of the virus is contained in and on the persons of the sick and on bed and body clothes soiled by them. The attack almost invariably commences as an ordinary acute diarrhœa, with dark-colored discharges for several days before the characteristic rice-water discharges appear. Some weak and decrepid persons succumb in this first, non-complete stage, and excusable doubts often arise whether these deaths arise from true cholera. Many physicians, especially some health-officers, do not count these cases, and thus confuse the whole history of the initial cases and throw a great darkness upon the origin of the whole outbreak. These primary colored discharges are just as infective as the more characteristic ones. Fortunately they are usually alkaline, which can easily be detected by means of litmus paper; while those of ordinary diarrhœa and cholera morbus are generally acid.

The discharges in true cholera always abound in germs or so-called bacteria or bacilli, all of which are easily killed or destroyed by acids. These germs thrive enormously in alkaline fluids, containing decomposing organic matter, when aided by warmth; and of course the stomachs and bowels of those afflicted with foul stomachs and bad digestion are the best places for their development. Under such favoring circumstances, it is believed that one germ will produce sixteen millions in twenty-four hours, and many billions in forty-eight hours. Nineteen men accidentally

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drank of water in which rice-water cholera discharges had been placed for microscopical examination from day to day. Five were attacked with cholera and three died; the rest escaped. The only differences that could be detected among these men were that the victims were weaker, had bad digestion and entirely empty alkaline stomachs. The rest had strong stomachs, had partaken of wholesome food, and had much healthy acid gastric juice which killed and digested the germs.

The mineral acids counteract this alkaline condition, act as antiseptics and disinfectants against the decomposing material, and quickly kill all the germs, or microbes. They can be given sufficiently dilute to be harmless, and can be used in quantities large enough not only to quench the great thirst that tortures cholera patients, but to fill and reach every portion of the bowels which has been invaded by the germs. Pepsine is also a good antidote. Dilute muriatic, nitric and sulphuric acids are all good; but the latter, especially in the form of aromatic sulphuric acid, is supposed to be the best. Dilute phosphoric acid may be used as a harmless preventive or prophylactic drink, and also as a curative remedy. Lemon-juice is a citrate of potash, and may be useful, but is not absolutely reliable. Gallic and boric acids are safe and pleasant remedies even in quite large doses. Nedweksky found that a whole teaspoonful of laudanum would not kill the germs which swarmed in only two teaspoonfuls of choleraic rice-water discharges. Neither did the same quantity of tincture of nux vomica, nor ten grains of chloral, nor ten grains each of calomel or quinine, nor any of the alkaline remedies, like chalk or bismuth.

Unless there is sudden water contamination cholera always commences slowly in every large town. First a few cases occur in houses far distant from each other and at rather long intervals of time. Then every one may be perfectly certain that ambulating cases, with premonitory diarrhœa, have slipped through Quarantine and are going to and fro, sowing the seeds of the disease in many places. Or that clothing soiled with cholera discharges, and swarming with live and active germs, has been let in without proper cleansing and disinfection. This slow uprising of the pestilence has been regarded as one of the most fixed and positive laws of the disease since 1848 and 1849. It is one of the most perplexing facts in connection with an outbreak of cholera that life-long citizens, exposed to these influences, are apt to die before

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any of those who introduced the disease succumb. In 1866, in New York, cholera was brought by the steamship "Virginia" on April 18th, with 31 deaths at sea and 56 more in Quarantine; by the "England," on April 20th, with 257 deaths at sea; and by the "Peruvian" with 66 deaths, while 2,477 more or less infected emigrants were let loose in the city. Yet up to July 8th there had been only 21 deaths in New York from cholera, and those in 17 different streets, on 18 different blocks, and in 19 different houses; and, stranger still, not one of these cases was discovered to have been directly exposed to any persons or things from Quarantine, or from the emigrant landing or depot. Yet every one of them resided in or frequented localities that were daily traversed by freshly landed emigrants.

It is not uncommon for these ambulating cases to introduce the pestilence into almshouses, hospitals and prisons, and there some old and decrepid long residents will generally die first. In Chattanooga, in 1873, the first death from true cholera was of a little boy, who had been sick in bed for two weeks with measles followed by pneumonia. But he had been visited by railroad men from Nashville, where there had been about 1,000 deaths. They had premonitory diarrhœa and brought him cakes, fruits and toys, handled with their soiled hands; they also had sat upon the side of his bed. He was weak and died first; but the robust men followed him to the grave a few days afterward. The disease was long supposed to have been blown through the doors or windows, or down the chimney.

When any of these early cases are discovered it is the duty of physicians and health-officers to hunt down and find out every place they have visited and to disinfect them all. A party of sailors started from Havre, by way of Dover, for Liverpool, where they arrived with well-developed cholera. The English health-officers went back over their route disinfecting every house and outhouse visited by them and no new cases arose. The Dutch and English authorities allow all well persons to pass over their boundary lines at once, but detain all the sick and every particle of soiled clothing belonging to the sick and well. This clothing is carefully washed and disinfected and sent after the owners within three or more days to their addresses, which must always be left with the authorities.

No amount of impure air will cause Asiatic cholera unless

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the germs have already been swallowed down into the stomachs of the sufferers. But the great smokes, smells, gases or effluvia, coming from dirty streets, gutters, sewers, docks, gas works, filthy stables, yards, slaughter-houses, or offal-rendering works, will render all cases more severe, or even fatal and hopeless. It is the duty of all citizens who suffer from these nuisances to complain to the authorities, who will generally render prompt redress in emergencies.

No amount of impure water will cause true Asiatic cholera unless the germs of the disease have already got into it. But contaminated and polluted water will render cases of Asiatic cholera hopeless; it is quite as dangerous and injurious as unripe or unwholesome fruits and vegetables and spoiled meats and fish. The United States and other navies have long protected their crews not only from cholera, but from dysentery, tropical diarrhœa, and almost all bowel complaints, by the exclusive use of distilled water. When hundreds and almost thousands of cases of diarrhœa and cholera occur daily or weekly in large towns, it is quite certain that cholera discharges have got into the drinking-water supplies. Then nothing but boiled or distilled water should be used. The alkaline mineral waters may be allowable as long as absolute disease has not set in, but not afterward.

No amount of imprudence in diet alone will cause Asiatic cholera unless some of the articles have been handled by those already suffering from the disease, and then a piece of bread will be as dangerous as an apple. But any and every imprudence and mistake in diet will greatly aggravate a case of Asiatic cholera; and then in addition to the specific remedies, those for common diarrhœa or cholera morbus may have to be used. Opium and bismuth may then not be amiss.

Reliable disinfectants and germicides for all cholera discharges and soiled clothes are now well known and are cheap. One pound of corrosive sublimate in 500 pounds of water is the best. This may even be drank with impunity by the wine or claret glassful or more, and will kill all the germs in the systems of the patients, will disinfect all the clothing which is placed in it, and all the discharges to which it is added. Still it should be kept under the control of physicians and health-officers. Weak sulphuric-acid lemonade seems well established, practically, as a preventive and curative remedy; but phosphoric acid is far safer

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for the populace, and doubtless equally good. In cholera times it is calculated that there are about sixty cases of premonitory diarrhœa to one of fully developed cholera; and householders, physicians and health-officers must be active with disinfection, and daily house to house visitation is all important.

Cholera is a disease that may occur more than once. One attack does not confer immunity; hence inoculation cannot well prevent it. All the Spanish cases of inoculation were imperfect, as they did not produce symptoms of cholera, but only local symptoms and some blood poisoning from septic substances. Cholera is not a blood disease, but most distinctly a primary stomach or bowel affection. While the best wishes of practical physicians go with the inoculators, they are not very sanguine or hopeful of this method. The preventive and curative treatment with acids is far more rational, more securely based upon experiments and results, and has been successful enough to recommend it to every one; while it can be used with little trouble or expense or danger by every person, physician and householder.

JOHN C. PETERS.

IN the space allotted to me I shall consider the question how to avoid the cholera if it overleaps the feeble barriers of a North American quarantine.

In order to guard against any danger it is essential to know its nature, and fortunately we have reached definite facts in regard to the contagiousness of cholera. We know that in certain places and times the environment is full of the cholera poison; that the disease is only feebly contagious through the air, so that with proper precautions those nursing the sick may well expect to escape; that the cholera virus is most abundant in the alvine discharges, and probably also escapes in the urine; and that such virus is endowed with a veritable genius for finding its way into water, and thence into the intestinal canal of its victim. Who has not heard of the doings of the great London Water Company, which supplied its customers with contaminated water and reaped a death harvest of thirty-five hundred persons? A person who has apparently a simple diarrhœa may be in the incipient stage of cholera, or be suffering from a mild attack of it. Such a person is a most dangerous center of infection, and has decimated a railroad train and

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scattered the seeds of the disease over miles of territory. There are therefore two great dangers during the cholera epidemic: one, poisoning in inscrutable ways when the environment is full of the virus; the second and most important, poisoning by water affected by the discharges of the sick.

For our present purposes the good citizens even of this democratic republic may be arranged in classes, but there are certain considerations which apply to all. Everything which maintains the health of an individual lessens his danger; but it is especially necessary to keep in complete order the gateway primarily assaulted by cholera; *i.e.*, the alimentary canal. A perpetual equanimity, an avoidance of fruit and indigestible foods, excessive caution in the use of purgative medicine, the taking of immediate measures of relief the moment the slightest diarrhœa or gastro-intestinal irritation appears—these are essentials for every one.

One class of our citizens are those who have no other duties in life save to protect themselves. My advice to such may be summed up by saying that presence of mind may be good in an epidemic, but absence of body is better. In the choice of a summer residence it is to be remembered that the disease follows lines of travel; that it especially attacks populous and low-lying places; that it is infrequent in remote hamlets, and that high mountainous regions are rarely affected. The continual influx of visitors; the demands of self-interest, compelling hotel keepers and civic authorities to conceal the existence of the first outbreak; the almost universally bad sewerage; the lack of control which the individual has over his food and drink: these render the large watering-place an especially dangerous abode. An isolated country residence in the mountains, the depths of an Adirondack wilderness, the loneliness of a yacht upon a Northern ocean: such are the places to which a rich man thinking only of his own safety should resort.

A second class of persons are those who are forced by the exigencies of business or domestic life to remain in large cities or to travel. Such persons should remember that cholera especially attacks the lowest classes of the population and rages most virulently in the slums. Indeed, if our cities were kept perfectly clean in all their parts, and their water supply pure, cholera would be a disease scarcely to be feared: but the Dives of one block perishes because he has neglected the Lazarus of the next. Thus, unless stringent measures be taken, the so-called Italian quarter

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of New York will probably be a raging center of the pestilence. Such localities are to be absolutely shunned. The great danger in infection being through the drink, too much care cannot be given to the latter. Those who are forced to travel should remember that railroad trains are not rarely among the most dangerous localities, and that the miscellaneous use of drinking waters in them is one of the great causes of peril. The person who lives at home during a cholera epidemic should drink only water that has been boiled for at least two hours, it being well established that such boiling will destroy the germs of the disease. There is very little danger from the use of ice, since it is usually gathered at seasons and places not affected. The traveler may not be able to get boiled water, but by depending largely on tea and coffee for liquid he gains some immunity. Adding brandy to water is of no use at all in directly preventing cholera, and, unless great care be exercised not to use the stimulant too freely, the indirect results may be more harmful than useful. It is otherwise with bottled light wines and malt liquors. They contain so much water as to need no dilution to supply the necessary liquid, and it is much safer for the traveler to drink a bottle of claret or of beer with his dinner than to take water. Reliable bottled waters may be freely used; but all liquids on draught should be avoided. Experience has shown that sulphuric acid has some prophylactic value. Moreover it destroys the noxious qualities of limestone water, and taken during the summer months in small quantities is very good for the general health. Two drops of it may be added to each tumbler of water.

The last class of persons that I shall speak of are those who are forced to come in contact with the sick. For these the danger is much minified by our recently acquired knowledge. Every speck of filth should be at once removed from a locality in which cholera appears. The room in which the patient is should be thoroughly ventilated, the windows being left open day and night. The attendant should be scrupulous in his personal cleanliness, washing his hands thoroughly whenever he has touched the patient, for there is great danger of self-infection by the carrying of particles to the mouth. The receptacle which is to receive the discharges of the patient should have the germicidal liquid placed in it before use, so that the contact may be immediate. After use it should be covered over and set aside for some little time in order that the drug may do its work. Even when thus

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disinfected such discharges should not be thrown into a common cesspool, but into some large receptacle where for the second time they should meet with an abundance of the disinfectant. The clothes of the cholera patient should be disinfected by heat, and should never be given out to be washed. The records of epidemics are full of accounts of the spreading of the disease to washerwomen, and by them to their families and to neighborhoods. The clothes seem indeed to be more virulent than the patient himself, the poison appearing to increase in power in their interstices. No scrap of bedding, no handkerchief or rag which has been connected with a cholera victim should be overlooked. In gathering up the clothes or bedding the attendant should fold them rapidly into as small a bundle as may be, so as to expose as little surface as is possible to the air. These bundles should be at once dropped into a brisk fire, or into a kettle in which water is boiling and over which a cover can be placed so as to prevent the possibility of living germs being carried up by the first escaping vapor. The boiling should be for not less than two hours, and in most cases it is well to add salt to the water so that the temperature may be raised above 212°. In case of death, the corpse should be at once wrapped in a sheet soaked with a saturated solution of corrosive sublimate, put in a tight casket and buried privately without unnecessary delay.

There are only two disinfectants which should be employed for the purpose of destroying the cholera germs; *i.e.*, chlorinated lime and corrosive sublimate. It is of the utmost importance that the public understand that all proprietary disinfectants are to be eschewed. Most of them are of uncertain, varying composition, many of those most lauded are absolutely without power, and probably all of them are excessive in their cost in proportion to their power. Chlorinated lime is probably as efficient as corrosive sublimate, but our knowledge is not so positive in regard to it. If employed, four to six ounces of a saturated solution of it should be used for each stool. The objection to corrosive sublimate is that its solution, lacking odor and color, may give rise to accidental poisoning. This may be obviated by the use of the following formula, which affords an absolutely reliable germicidal solution, not readily mistaken for harmless liquid. Corrosive sublimate half an ounce; permanganate of potassium half a drachm; water ten ounces. For use this solution may be well diluted with ten times its bulk of water, and of this diluted solution two ounces may be used for each cholera

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evacuation. For washing the hands the dilute liquid should be further weakened with a hundred times its bulk of water, and always after the use of even this diluted solution the hands should be at once rinsed with abundance of water and then washed with soap and water.

The possibility of self-protection from cholera by inoculation is a question of the near future. Dr. Ferran, a Spanish physician, claims that he not only antedated the discovery of Koch of the comma bacillus, but has also traced elaborately its development and the production of spores by it; and that he has found that injections with its cultures will produce choleraic symptoms in guinea pigs and protect them against attacks of the disease. The Committee of the Madrid Academy of Medicine has reported favorably upon the work of Ferran, and have also stated that in a number of human beings cholera symptoms have been produced with the cultures. According to telegraphic reports large numbers of people have submitted to these inoculations, but at present the only deduction that is allowable is that much more extended researches are necessary before any conclusions can be reached.

H. C. Wood.

Asiatic cholera, traveling westward, is now epidemic along the Spanish shores of the Mediterranean. On June 15th there were 114 new cases in Castellon, with 34 deaths, and 214 at Carthagena, with 60 deaths. Such violence indicates that this resembles previous epidemics, which have generally ended in America after having passed to the Rocky Mountains or the Andes. Each time, in its course from India, the disease has proved fatal to more than a million people. The natural life of an epidemic of cholera in America rarely exceeds two years. It may enter like an avalanche, rapidly extend along the highways of travel, and almost as quickly disappear, showing no tendency to be renewed. The students of cholera cannot accept without question the doctrine of Koch, and they regret that at the recent conference in Berlin, Pettenkoffer, who has made cholera a life long-study, did not receive that consideration that his accumulated store of knowledge entitled him to. Cholera has never originated on the American continent. Neither fright, nor bad food, nor impure air, nor filth, nor the vilest dissipation causes cholera; but all these will undoubtedly, after it is once

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planted, increase the luxuriance of its growth and wonderfully magnify its harvest.

Cholerization, the most recent theory promulgated to combat cholera, during the spring of 1885 has been extensively resorted to by Dr. Ferran, of Spain, who claims that exemption is produced by inoculation with attenuated cholera material, which, he says, induces symptoms resembling a mild attack of cholera, and that the operation never proves serious; all recover and are rendered exempt from the malignant form of the disease. It is reported that in the Alcare Hospital all the inmates were inoculated, with the exception of two who declined to submit to the operation; that these two were attacked with cholera and died, while all the others escaped. The symptoms following Dr. Ferran's inoculations are said to appear in about four hours—cramps and diarrhœa, followed by fever and delirium—all of which terminate in sixteen hours, when those that have been inoculated are well, and are believed to have been placed in a safe condition not to be affected by the disease. As a large number of inoculations have been made—on over eight thousand people, it is said, in Valencia in one week—the experiment appears to have proceeded far enough. The recognized facts in regard to the course of the modified disease following inoculations for variola, which have been resorted to by the Bramins from time immemorial, do not encourage the belief that Dr. Ferran's method will be of any use. The Spanish Government prohibited further inoculations until their utility had been demonstrated.

The importance of rigidly guarding the source of the water-supply from contamination and keeping the reservoirs free from all putrescent animal or vegetable substances, cannot be too strongly urged. More especially is this the case where great changes are in progress, requiring many men to reside along the borders of the water-courses, as in New York during the present year at the Croton and Bronx rivers, where so many hundreds of men will occupy new, temporary, and unsanitary residences. These men, exposed while at hard work to the mid-day sun, and, with their families, eating improperly cooked food and unripe fruit, need special sanitary care, not only for themselves, but to prevent them from polluting the water supplied to nearly two millions of people residing in or near New York City.

The purity of the water that people drink is generally beyond

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their control. They simply take it, without any power to inspect the source whence it came. Therefore, when there is the slightest doubt in regard to its purity, it is best to remove even the shadow of danger, as it may be easily made pure by two simple processes. The first is by boiling, which destroys all germs of disease. The Chinese keep exempt from cholera by drinking an infusion of tea or of a cheap vegetable. But many are unable to have all their drinking water boiled. In such case, a small quantity of common alum may be added a short time before it is used. Alum is a powerful and perfectly safe water purifier.

Disinfection has been of great service in stamping out cholera. The generation of sulphurous acid gas or chlorine gas appears to have been the most effective. Heat above 212° F., and an abundance of dry air, will also in a short time destroy the cholera germs; while for washing, any chemical capable of coagulating albumen will suffice. Alum is the best, cheapest, and safest. When properly used, it does not affect either the fabric or the color. The use of chloride of lime, carbolic acid, and the elimination of aromatic fumes only tends to deceive the imagination, and from their frequent unpleasant associations, causes harm. For the cracks and crevices in cellars nothing is better than whitewashing, the lime and water being applied thickly and evenly. In 1866 we were fully alive to the importance of observing the strictest quarantine, yet, as it sometimes inevitably will, cholera escaped detection. A car-driver, while in perfect health, sat on bundles of clothing belonging to five German immigrants, and in a few hours was in the collapse stage of malignant cholera. The disease spread to nineteen of his relatives, causing three immediate deaths.

During epidemics of cholera, comparatively few of the inhabitants of the place can or will leave their own homes, and those living in sanitary places run few risks. In my studies during the epidemic of 1866, I found that even where it did occur in sanitary houses, if proper care was taken, it manifested very slight power to extend, and those stricken down recovered, when properly nursed; while the inhabitants of badly drained and crowded places ran greater risks. But even then the disease could be controlled. Every city, town, and village ought to have its local health board. If Plymouth had had a proper health board, it might have escaped its terrible scourge of typhoid fever. Cholera in healthful homes

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does not show a tendency to spread. During the epidemic of 1866 the writer, when called early, did not see a single instance of more than one serious case in a sanitary home; and all that had the premonitory symptoms properly treated, recovered, except a very small proportion whose attack was ushered in with fatal violence.

How shall we, who are well and strong, care for ourselves if we have to remain in the midst of an epidemic? Do not be frightened, but observe the following rules:

1. Cleanliness in all things—the streets, the home, and the person. Keep the cellars, tanks, and sewer connections in good condition. For the person a daily bath, also a wash of the face, hands, teeth, and mouth after each meal.

2. Proper clothing, easily fitting and comfortable. It is better to have too much than too little. A broad flannel band around the abdomen, worn day and night, will be useful.

3. Temperance in all things, with a generous diet of all wholesome articles—fish, meats, vegetables, and clean, ripe, seasonable, native fruits, with extras to a proper degree. If any article is known to disagree with you, avoid it. Do not eat or drink indiscriminately between meals, and if any distress is caused by improper substances in the stomach, quickly reject them.

There should be inspection, under consular direction, at exit ports where cholera may be present, of all persons or articles that may convey disease; enforcement of rigid quarantine at all entry ports; establishment of quarantine hospitals; thorough disinfection of all suspicious articles; compliance with the law that requires cases to be reported. As soon as cholera appears, all infected places should be divided into districts, to be presided over by a proper official. Small temporary hospitals should be established, fully equipped with physicians, nurses, telephone communication, and an ambulance. All that cannot be properly cared for at home should be immediately removed to a hospital.

We who have battled with epidemic Asiatic cholera in its most malignant form at the homes of those affected, can testify that absolute quarantine prevents its entrance, thorough disinfection exterminates it, and proper treatment carries a very large proportion of even the severest cases to recovery.

CHARLES A. LEALE.

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THE ANIMAL SOUL.

THE author of "Eothen" remarks that the history of Spain, from the landing of the Carthaginians to the expulsion of the Moors and Jews, is the chronicle of a protracted duello between Aryans and Semites. If the contests of the moral world should be summed up in the same way, we might say that their history for the past three thousand years has been the record of a continuous struggle between naturalists and anti-naturalists. The philosophers of Greece and Rome, Kepler, Newton, Rousseau, Goethe, Humboldt, and Darwin fought on the one side; the Buddhists, St. Augustine, St. Francis, Loyola, Calvin, and Wesley on the other. The naturalist appeals to reason and experience; the anti-naturalist appeals to authority. The one enforces his doctrine with arguments, the other with threats or entreaties. The one invites free inquiry, the other deprecates it. The one seeks to explain the phenomena of life by studying the laws of nature, the other by assuming the interference of supernatural agencies. The one insists on the essential analogies, the other on the essential contrasts, between the constitution of man and that of his fellow-creatures. The metaphysicians of all nature-loving nations inclined to the former side. Poets wove their romances about the creed of Greece, but there is no doubt that her gods were originally nothing but the deified powers of nature, the deified passions and emotions of the human soul. The worshiper of nature sought paradise on this side of the grave. He held that to enjoy is to obey, and that the wonders of creation were not made to be despised. He did not make his life a discord in the harmony of nature; he found friends and playmates among the lowliest of his fellow-creatures. The gods themselves shared the joys of earth. Life was emphatically thought worth living, and nature-worship remained the almost universal religion of mankind, till Buddha, the Nepau-

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lese, proclaimed the sheer antithesis of that system. The worthlessness of earthly life and the necessity of salvation by the renunciation of earthly sympathies, were the keystone dogmas of the new creed. The westward spread of its doctrines inaugurated the era of a long war against nature. It is well known that the progress of civilization was interrupted for twelve hundred years. It cannot be denied that natural science was almost wholly superseded by supernaturalism. The constant activity of preternatural agencies was deemed as unquestionable as the influence of atmospheric currents. Speculative thinkers postulated a spook for every unknown phenomenon. Yet a still more significant, though less often admitted, characteristic of that period was its anti-naturalism. "Whatever is natural is wrong," was the shibboleth of the mediæval Buddhists. The enforced worship of sorrow darkened the life-light of countless millions. All cheerful instincts of the human soul were denounced as sinful. Earth was supposed to be, not only possessed of, but possessed by, malevolent demons. The pagan deities were changed into devils. Woden, the hunter-god, became a Wild Huntsman, Hulda a night-hag, Venus a lamia; the first May-night, when Hertha awakens the slumbering wood-spirits, became a Walpurgis-nacht with its hellish revivals. Even objects of scenic interest, the trysting-places of the nature-worshiping Druids, became "devil's pulpits," "devil's bridges," and "devil's caves." Nay, an elaborate treatise was written to prove that the actions of animals are inspired by the devil. The cosmogony of the mediæval schoolmen was, in fact, a systematic demonology. In their writings Nature and Sin (like the world and the devil) were frequently used as synonymous terms. "Natur ist Sünde, Geist ist Teufel," says the Prelate in "Faust." Hence their intense mistrust of naturalism and natural philosophy, the suppression of the Olympic games, the savage laws against "sophists and mathematicians." Hence, also, the equally bitter, but perfectly consistent, opposition to the introduction of the Copernican heresy, which they instinctively recognized as the entering wedge of a naturalistic reaction. Hence at last the forlorn-hope assault upon the doctrine of evolution, which has completed the triumph of that reaction.

For Superstition clings to the last tenable shred of her tenets. Lecky observes that multitudes "who recognize the fact that the celestial phenomena are subject to inflexible law, imagine that

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the dispensation of rain is in some sense the result of arbitrary interpositions, determined by the conduct of mankind . . . It is still customary to speak of 'plagues of rain and water, sent on account of our sins,' and corresponding language is employed about the forms of disease which science has but imperfectly explained." Worsted dogmas seek shelter in mysteries, like vanquished armies in a mist, as favorable to a discreet change of front. When it became mathematically certain that our earth is not the center of the universe, but only a subordinate member of the solar system, subject to laws that could not for a moment have been suspended without subverting the established order of that system, the discomfited dogmatists fell back upon biology, and confronted their assailants with the announcement that our air-ship, though not itself a play-ball of supernatural agencies, is occupied by a certain number of supernatural passengers, distinct from all their fellow-travelers in origin and consequently in constitution and destiny; and since Darwin exploded the premises of that syllogism, its exponents seek a new basis for its intricate superstructure. In other words, the opponents of naturalism try to reconcile the doctrine of evolution not only with the harmless belief in the eternal duration of life, but with their test-dogma that man is an *alter ens*, a being governed by laws distinct from, or even opposed to, those of nature in general—an earth-child, descended perhaps from that species of quadrumana known as catarrhine monkeys, but characterized by certain preternatural qualities not shared in the least degree by any of his fellow-catarrhines.

Nor is the obstinate defense of that position disproportioned to the importance of its dogmatical significance. There is a story of a moss-trooper who assured a country laird of his personal good-will, and lamented the business necessity for blowing up his house; and an almost similar irony seems to lurk in the demure comments of the Shrewsbury philosopher and his deprecatory allusions to a system that he proceeds to attack with the explosives of his "fatally plausible theory." He traces the river of life to a chasm, which for a little space seems to hide it with its overhanging rocks. He points out the gap where the river emerges from the cliffs. He proves that its current has retained its general direction. He proves that the gravel of the delta is the detritus of the rocks at the source of the river. He demonstrates that the rains of the upper valley affect the level of the lower stream. He analyzes the waters below

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and above the gap, and proves that they contain the same solutions in the same proportions of admixture. "Notwithstanding," he says, "I shall continue to entertain the most extreme respect for the hypothesis of the Pundits, who hold that the effluent of the river is essentially different from the upper part of its course; that its lower current does not move in obedience to the law of gravitation, but under the impulse of supernatural agencies, and but for the virtue of certain propitiatory rites might cease to flow; and that only the lower river will ever reach the ocean or ascend in the form of clouds to its proper home, the sky."

Yet the outworks of that hypothesis have already been carried, and its defenders begin to concentrate their forces upon the debatable ground of gradual evolution. For *Natura non facit saltum* is a reversible weapon, and if that *saltus*, a sudden leap from lower to higher planes of development, could be anywhere demonstrated, it might form a presumptive argument for the interposition of preternatural agencies. But the basis of that hope is becoming rather circumscribed. "Catastrophism" is losing ground. From year to year the progress of science leads to clearer proofs of the unity of the cosmic laws, and convinces the despisers of nature that the lowly roots of life have evolved many a marvelous flower, and that the goat-feet of Pan can climb the very summit of Olympus. The study of comparative biology has revealed the most surprising analogies between the operation of animal instinct and the functions of conscious reason on the one hand, and the action of the organic forces on the other; analogies that make it impossible to mistake the agency of the same formative law in the growth of a coral reef and the development of a system of political organization; analogies that dissolve all differences of kind into differences of degree.

"Adaptation of means to an unconscious purpose," is a definition that fails to distinguish the primitive manifestations of that law from the functions of the lower animals. The young bee observes the metrical rules of her craft with scrupulous exactness, yet, like the constructive agencies of a vegetable organism, evidently without a conscious plan. Like reason and instinct, those agencies are able to adapt themselves to special and wholly abnormal circumstances. Convolvulus Major, confined in a paper box with a small air-hole, will direct its tendrils toward that aperture, and, if necessary, attenuate their budding points, in order to force its way to the outer air. The thorn-liana sprouts along the ground

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in a direct line toward the next convenient tree, and changes its direction if that tree is removed. In the animal body the responsibilities of a damaged organ are assumed by other organs. The eye-sight of a deaf mute, the hearing and feeling of a blind person, become abnormally acute; the skin, the lungs, undertake to eliminate substances that overtask the functional energy of the digestive organs, nay, during the progress of certain diseases the digestive apparatus often suspends its functions in order to enable the organism to concentrate all its energies on the work of expurgation, just as ants interrupt their foraging expeditions in order to repel the attack of an enemy. The preservation of life is the highest law of nature; yet, in order to avoid hopeless suffering, she hastens the event of an incurable disease, as wasps, at the approach of winter, kill the last brood of their larvæ, rather than see them starve. The faculty that enables animals to distinguish food from poison is not more marvelous than that by which our digestive organs select their proper nutriment from an infinite variety of organic and unorganic substances. For both are clearly the result of natural adaptation. In frugivorous animals, for instance, the cumulative experience of countless generations has at last become a hereditary instinct, but an instinct that fails to warn them against poisons that escaped the cognizance of their ancestors. The fruit-eaters whose intuitions enable them to distinguish the vaccinium vacillans from a strikingly similar poison-berry, will unhesitatingly swallow a mixture of sugar and arsenic. The imported ruminants, whose ancestors acquired their experience on the mountain-pastures of the far East, were at first deceived by the poison-herbs of the new world, but gradually learned to avoid mistakes of that sort, for the highland counties of western North Carolina have now a breed of sheep that will rather starve than touch the tempting leaves of the evergreen calmia. On the other hand, they have learned to appreciate various nutritive herbs which they at first refused, probably because they reminded their "instinct" of poison-plants indigenous to the highlands of central Asia. And exactly in the same way the digestive organs of the domestic dog have learned to appreciate, *i.e.*, to distinguish and utilize, the nutritive elements of bread and other substances which the stomach of his lupine ancestor would have rejected as so much worthless stuff. The teguments of the stomach are connected with those of the palate, and the selective instinct that guides the sense of

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taste is but a modified manifestation of the law that governs the process of digestion and the action of chemical affinities.

And as surely as the problems of the present world are amply sufficient to account for the purpose of the highest faculties of the human mind, the origin of those faculties will yet be traced to the lowly well-springs of earthly life. No tenable theory of the relation of human reason to animal instinct has ever succeeded in demonstrating a difference of kind. Buffon's definition, for instance, that instinct acts on impulse from within, reason on motives from without, would fail to establish that distinction. For both modes of incentive influence both kinds of action; the proportion of their respective influence only varies by imperceptible degrees. "Disposition," "character," "passion," are so many different words for the inner impulse that modifies or intensifies the external motive; and "instinct" is not moved exlusively from within. Its manifestations are prompted by external incentives, by exigent circumstances, by favorable opportunities; as first October frosts prompt the departure of the migratory bird, as the approaching summer of the tropics awakens his home-sickness after the temperate zone. The discovery of a convenient nook stimulates the weaver-instinct of the spider: even the imperious sexual instinct is prompted by casual opportunities.

Reason has been likened to a musical instrument that requires practice, which, once acquired, can be used or abused in an infinite variety of ways; instinct to a musical automaton, which plays its tunes with uniform correctness, but has a rather limited *répertoire*. The instincts of the lower animals would, indeed, justify that comparison. A bee can defy any mathematician to excel the symmetry of her fabric, but her talent is limited to wax-work. The nest-building bird succeeds at the first attempt, but does not improve with practice; the spider can only weave; the dauber-wasp only plaster. Such instincts are one-sided business qualifications, sufficient for, but confined to, a single purpose. But as we ascend the scale of evolution we must either modify that definition of instinct, or admit that the actions of the higher animals are guided by reason. If the mental faculties of the quadrumana are so many instincts, that term could claim some curious synonyms, for those faculties can be applied and misapplied to an extravagant variety of purposes. Does instinct, "the exhorting voice of nature," teach a young Rhesus baboon to purloin the jacket of his

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fellow-Rhesus and try it on like a pair of breeches? "Does reason?" it might be asked in return. But has reason, "the faculty of adapting means to conscious purposes," never been misapplied? Does the Salvation Army play less fantastic tricks before high heaven than the most eccentric baboon? Nor could it be asserted that the talents of our next relatives are unavailable for business purposes. They plan their foraging expeditions with a skill that would make the fortune of a Mexican patriot. No politician, angling for a collectorship, can surpass the Macacus radiatus in the art of making himself agreeable to his patron; and the holy apes of Benares enjoy the emoluments of their sinecures with all the self-asserting dignity of a Grand Metropolitan.

All the mental characteristics of the undegenerate specimens of our race have their germs in the character-traits of our tree-climbing relatives. Inquisitiveness, the presumptive root of science —though Peter Lombard enumerates it among the obstacles to salvation—is a besetting foible of the simian mind. Altruism, as modern psychologists have named the instinctive interest in the welfare of our fellow-beings, is in some of its forms almost distinctively a monkey-virtue. The little Javanese macaque, which trembles at the squeak of a mouse, will fly in the face of the fiercest bull-dog to make a diversion in favor of a helpless comrade. At the mere sight of a cruel act, the chimpanzee, though otherwise meekness personified, will break out in a violent passion, strike the ground with his fists, and protest in savage whoops. According to a story from India, that instinct seems to assert itself even in favor of distant relatives: Colonel Lawrence, of the Agra Planters' Hotel, keeps a tame leopard, which once followed its master to the freight-dépôt of the railway station. The shady platform at the north end of the dépôt is a great resort for baboons and loafers, and while the colonel talked to the receiving-clerk, his leopard strolled out to the platform, where a little street-Arab had fallen asleep upon a pile of gunny bags. The moment he approached that pile a troop of baboons (probably the Papio Rhesus) leaped upon the platform, and, instantly surrounding the boy, faced the intruder with bristling manes and menacing growls, evidently resolved to defend their little relative at the risk of their own lives.

Quite apart from educational influences, the same instinct sometimes manifests itself in the human species, and with the

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same disregard of consequences. "Two young sons of the Burggraf," says Carlyle (Frederick, Vol. I. p. 97), "once went out riding with their tutor, when a big hound of theirs, in one of the streets of Nürnberg, accidentally tore a child; and there arose a wild mother's wail; and all the scythe-smiths turned out, fire-breathing, deaf to a poor tutor's pleadings and explainings; and the tutor, who had ridden forth in calm humor with two princes, came galloping home with only one, the smiths having driven the other into boggy ground and there caught and killed him"—though not one of them could hope to escape the wrath of the prince's father. But would the scythe-smiths have risked their lives for a young Hindoo, not to say a young Rhesus baboon? The Hindoos themselves are perhaps nearer to nature in that respect; for when Captain Elphinstone's servant had crippled a bhunder-monkey, he was repeatedly "pursued by a howling mob, and on one occasion was chased all over Delhi before he could give his pursuers the slip in the Mohammedan quarter, where a stout Unitarian kept the rabble at bay till the fugitive had effected his escape through a back-door." We may laugh at the excitement of the sympathetic mob, but a feeling much akin to theirs is perhaps the basis of the civic virtues.

Speech and music in their present development, are acquired arts rather than innate faculties, for in solitary confinement a child would grow up inarticulate; but their germ—the disposition to express emotion by modulated sounds—distinguishes the quadrumana from all other mammals. No one that has ever heard the voice of the long-armed gibbon, can forget the strange musical cadences of its cry, perfect *solfeggios* in zigzag scales and with rhythmical pauses and crescendos. A specimen in the shop of a Hamburg pet-dealer attracted a large assembly, who crowded around the house under the impression that the proprietor had imported an operatic South-Sea Islander. The Brazilian capuchin-monkey (Cebus capucinus), especially the white-headed varieties, have a vocal organ of still wider range, though of less musical timbre. They grunt, they pipe, they chatter, they yelp, they combine a whoop with a strange coughing guttural, they utter all the simple and compound vowels with an endless variety of modulations, evidently not prompted by the almost exclusively erotic motives of the singing-bird, but rather by an exuberance of complex emotions, which the unisons of the lower mammals would fail

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to express. The mental development of the anthropoid four-handers has already reached a degree that enables them to dispense with the aid of those mysterious instincts that one is tempted to ascribe to the agency of a sixth sense; the faculty of direction, for instance. Monkeys have no abiding homes, and are very apt to lose their way in the maze of the virgin-woods; but they roam at will, well knowing that their mental resources will enable them to master the situation under any circumstances. With one (doubtful) exception, they build no nests, but carry their young wherever they go, and have thus emancipated themselves from the thraldom of locality, which roots the plant to its native soil.

Man has been called the "only creature whose thoughts range beyond the present life." That the thoughts of our fellow-creatures have never strayed in that direction, we may justly doubt, however soon their intuitions may have admonished them to desist from a hopeless task. I have seen a female leopard stand motionless and mute before the dead body of her mate, deaf to the voice of her keeper and all other appeals, till at last the wailings of her kittens seemed to awaken her as from a dream. Colonel Godolitz, of the Austrian army, gave me an account of a dog that exhumed the buried body of his master, and with an appealing look of inquiry turned his head toward the men that came to repair the mischief. Who shall say that no musings on the mystery that has employed philosophers as often as Trappists, passed through the souls of those animals? Though as for "other-worldliness," or the habit of neglecting the business of life about such musings, and the consequent "yearning after a better life," the natural history of the animal soul might, indeed, fail to furnish a parallel. The right to despise this world and expect a celestial sinecure as a reward of that contempt, may be a human prerogative, but a prerogative that has always been most eagerly claimed by those whom this world has weighed and found wanting. Superannuated coquettes become brides of heaven. Every border-ruffian that fails to "get the drop" on the sheriff pities his friends that have to tarry among the vanities of a disappointing world. Unmasked hypocrites become candidates for a martyr's crown. When the French had beaten his last army, Charles IV. of Spain soothed his soul by embroidering a petticoat for an image of the Holy Virgin. This "best-known of all worlds" seems good enough to our fellow-creatures, as it did to the Greeks and

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Romans and still does to all manful and successful men. Other-worldliness is the virtue of the vanquished.

It is, indeed, the difficulty of reconciling the ways of nature with the principles of pessimism, that makes the antinaturalists so loath to admit the unity of nature's laws. Like Faraday, who lived in a twofold world, a world of science and a world of faith, they would distinguish between the ghost-disturbed soul of man and the nature-guided, or automatic soul of his fellow-creatures. Animals consult their welfare by following the guidance of their instincts; their inclinations indicate the will of nature; the natural inclinations and the true interest of man are supposed to be hopelessly at variance. Nature has made happiness the normal condition of her children by associating every normal action with a pleasurable sensation. In the catechism of the antinaturalists, the sinfulness of pleasure is still a cardinal dogma. The natural affections that have aided the survival of the higher animals are considered unworthy of a model saint. "If any man come to me and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brothers and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." The greenwood harbors no pessimist. "The wood-thrush does not modulate her anthems in a whining drawl; no dread of a joy-hating priest-god disturbs the gambols of the squirrel and the aërial dances of the brook-midge." But the children of man are taught to frown on the smiling face of nature. "Blessed are they that mourn," "Woe unto you that laugh," "Be afflicted and mourn and weep."

Only men that hoped to be forgiven on such terms, could "claim themselves a sole exclusive heaven." The dying Indian hopes that his faithful dog will rejoin him in the happy hunting-grounds; the horses of Achilles follow his shade to Elysium; and in the still earlier ages of the world, when the spirit of man had not yet strayed so far from its source, the repulsive exclusion of our lowly fellow-creatures was wholly unknown. The forms of plants and animals are gracefully interwoven with the tissue of Hindoo mythology and the sagas of our northern ancestors. The dog Sarama discovers the theft of the Panis; the horses of the Asmins fight in the battle of the gods; Hanuman is summoned to the council-hall of Indra. Our mediæval devotees retired to convents that never harbored a sparrow; the saints of Brahminism retired to the hills and spent their last year in communion with

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the guiltless creatures of the forest, as our pathologists have again begun to study the hygienic instincts of animals, in order to correct the prejudices of our denaturalized modes of life. For pessimism is passing away like a moral epidemic, and its fever-dreams will soon cease to be confounded with the normal tendencies of the human mind.

But if antinaturalism is a symptom of disease, it must be admitted that supernaturalism requires a different definition, and the fact that the imagination of all primitive races has been haunted by ghost-terrors, opens out a field of very curious inquiry. Were the lullabies of our species chanted by priests that could not dispense with bugbears? Rather more significant seems the circumstance that ghost-fear is a night phenomenon. Midnight is the ghost-hour par excellence. The goblins hide in day-time. "It was about to speak, when the cock crew." "Up! my horses shudder—the dawn is near!" Mephistopheles warns his companion. Knight Roderick, fleeing from the pursuit of the Wild Huntsman, feels himself safe when he sees the morning light. And the same sight must for ages have cheered the hearts of our arboreal relatives. In day-time a panther would find it easier to kill ten birds than to catch one monkey. The nimble fourhander can mock his claws; they disdain to flee; they pursue him with hooting yells from tree to tree and seem to invite his attack by their defiant boldness. But the tables are turned after dark, when the fourhanders have to rely on the vigilance of their sentries, whose sharp ears are no match for the owl-eyes of the prowling felidæ, though they give the alarm at the slightest symptom of danger. These alarms, almost nightly disturbing the sleep of untold thousands of generations, must have impressed the simian soul as well as the soul of our sylvan ancestors with an indelible dread of nocturnal apparitions, haunting a vague imagination with all sorts of monstrous shapes. "It is not books or pictures," says Charles Lamb, "nor the stories of foolish servants, which create these terrors in children; they can at most give them a direction. The stories of the chimæras and gorgons may reproduce themselves in the brain of superstition, but they were there before. They are transcripts, types: the archetypes are in us, and eternal." May we not guess that those archetypes were the night-walking *ferœ* of the primeval forests? Every menagerie-keeper knows that after dark the approach of any unknown ("uncanny") object

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will scare monkeys almost out of their wits. The fluttering of a window-curtain, the stealthy steps of a late visitor, a mere flitting shadow, is enough to throw them into a paroxysm of abject fear; capuchin monkeys dash to and fro like blind chickens; baboons, which in day-time would brave the attack of a mastiff, huddle together and seem disposed to lose their wits at a moment's notice. Hereditary influences have transmitted that disposition to some of their higher relatives, as Hannibal well knew when he routed his blockaders with a stampede of fiery phantoms. The sibyl of the Egerian fountain declined to appear in day-time, and professional ghost-raisers greatly prefer to begin their séances after dark. The persistence of hereditary tendencies is proportional to that of the predisposing cause. The love of forest-life has survived its modifications, the hot-house mania and the park mania of our French and British cousins; and even among nations so thoroughly secularized as the people of northern Germany, superstition still survives in the fear of night-hags.

The study of animal characteristics may furnish, indeed, many suggestive commentaries to obscure, because half-obliterated, traits of the human soul, just as the caudal appendages of our next relatives explain the meaning of certain prolongations of the human spine. Dog-trainers often notice that a whipped hound falls savagely upon his mates, and exasperated monkeys reach around into the next cage to pull the tail of an inoffensive neighbor. I had a raccoon that never failed to inflict that sort of vendetta upon some one or other, sometimes even upon the cows that passed its den on their way to the pond. Few civilized men that stump their toes against a stone would act upon the impulse of flinging that stone at the head of a by-stander; still, the truth that misery loves company well enough to supply the want by aggressive measures, is apt to assert itself in various disguises. Rejected suitors and dyspeptic gluttons are much inclined to engage in a crusade against the vanities of this world. Tea-drinking spinsters with nervous headaches take care that their affliction shall compare favorably with that of their servant-girls. Jupiter, after the death of Semele, makes a raid upon the astonished Argives; and when Krishna, the son of Heaven, was crucified, millions of mortals were sentenced to renounce the joys of this life. *Cætera qui nescit?*

The evolution of plants and animals presents a curious but rarely noticed analogy—the sudden change, namely, that their

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forms undergo at the approach of perfect development. The slowly budding rose unfolds all its leaves in a single day. In a single hour the crawling mummy that emanates from a chrysalis, becomes a broad-winged butterfly. The pheasant, the male tanager, and the bullfinch, acquire their plumage by a sudden transition from neutral to brilliant colors. Is it not as if nature had intended to furnish us a commentary, suggesting an explanation of an apparent anomaly, namely, the wide interval in the scale of development from ape to man? In the evolution of man, nature approached the climax of her work, and unfolded a flower that the teguments of the inclosing bud had partly concealed. Science might adduce still closer analogies. At the dawn of creation the march of development moved very slowly; so slowly, indeed, that Sir Charles Lyell specially commends the Darwinian theory for "enabling us to dispense with a law of progress as a necessary accompaniment of variation." Myriads of ages after the first appearance of life on this planet, he tells us, "there were still as many beings of the simplest structure in existence as ever." Ages may also have passed before our hirsute ancestors learned to exchange their stone clubs for bronze hatchets. Within the past thirty years science has surpassed the progress of thirty centuries of faith. On the higher planes of life, evolution strides with wider steps. In tracing those steps across the gap of the problematic transition, we should remember to compare the nearest points of approach: the advanced dawn of animal intelligence, and the first sun-glimpse of human reason. That sun seemed to rise in a mist. The occupations of our early ancestors were confined to defensive and offensive warfare, their children were cradled in the bulrushes of the lacustrine swamps that protected them against the approach of their enemies, in Lernean bogs and Swiss lagoons, while they left the fair uplands to their four-footed rivals. The anthropoid apes, too, are swamp-dwellers, and without pile-forts manage to hold their own against all quadruped aggressors. The gorilla, and, according to Brehm, also the nshiego and a nest-building ape of the upper Gaboon, stampede elephant herds by breaking off clubs and following the troop with furious yells. The first biped hunters probably used no other weapons. The poor hill-folk of the Malabar Ghauts eat several varieties of venomous snakes, which they catch by pinning them to the ground with a forked stick. But in times of scarcity the Abyssinian kutch-baboon takes greater

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risks, for he catches scorpions with his hands and breaks off their tails before they have time to twist around. The vocabulary of the Veddahs, the probable aborigines of Ceylon, contains fewer than a hundred words; that of the white-headed capuchin at least twice as many expressive sounds. Sir Emerson Tennent says that a Veddah hunter's attempts at conversation sounded to him like a combination of clicks and rasping grunts; the long-armed gibbon and the capuchin pronounce their vowels as distinctly as a trained vocalist, and modulate them to express all possible degrees of approbation, displeasure, fear, desire and surprise. If the Veddahs can ever be even half civilized, it is certain that they have declined all invitations in that direction for the past three thousand years; and what compulsory education might do for the anthropoid apes we may imply by comparing, first, the mental status of the domestic dog with that of his wild relatives, the canis pictus and the Syrian jackal; and secondly, the docility of the ape with the stubborn misanthropy of the wild dog.

The social virtues are supposed to constitute a generic distinction of the human soul; but the difference between the social systems of Great Britain and Dahomey is greater than the difference between the family life of the African baboons and that of the Papua Islanders. Fish trust their spawn to the sea; the female tortoise disdains to hatch her eggs, though she deposits them in a kind of nest; the male wolf leaves the care of his whelps to their mother; but the adult baboons of both sexes not only attend to the wants of their own offspring, but watch over orphans and the stray youngsters of a neighboring tribe, and nurse their sick with a solicitude that shames the perfunctory services of many professional human nurses. I have seen a female Chacma nurse a wounded babuin, or Berber-monkey, rock him to and fro with a soothing purr, peep under his plaster, but hastily replace it when his twitching betrayed pain, cover him with her own blanket, and for hours lick around the wounded spot and rub it with her finger-tips. In their native rocks a whole tribe of the sympathetic brutes will rush to the rescue of a crippled brother and lug him off to a place of safety, where the champions of the encounter surround him, strutting grotesquely in the pride of their hearts, or souls, though the antinaturalist would probably grudge them the honor of a term that he would apply to the mental apparatus of the Polynesian, who cures his sick children in the

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smoke-house and sells his wife for a glass of grog. Yet we must admit the probability that the Chacmas have acquired their virtues without the aid of preternatural revelations. Sympathy led to co-operation; co-operation enabled them to hold their own against enemies that eliminated the less sympathetic varieties of their species. Natural selection favored the development of an altruistic disposition, as surely as any morbid aberration of that tendency would have been speedily suppressed. The penalties of unfitness would have been enforced against those whose altruism had tempted them to seek glory in self-torture, to whine instead of fight, to hate their friends and children and bestow their affection upon their enemies. Such forms of virtue would have succumbed in the struggle for existence, as they succumbed in the struggle of the Protestant revolt; but by just as much as altruism conduced to the welfare of the species, it was favored and perpetuated.

Have the social virtues of the civilized nations been developed in any other way? We see no reason for that assumption. The "power behind phenomena" acts by self-regulating laws.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

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A PROFANE VIEW OF THE SANCTUM.

My day's work was done. I try to be one of that very small class of men who are wise enough to leave "shop" at the shop when they go home for the night, in order that, after mental excursions in other directions, they may come back to it with fresh vigor the next morning. So, when fortunate enough to have an evening all to myself, I sit in my easy-chair, with my newspaper in my lap, smoke a cigar — "to the glory of God," of course, like Mr. Spurgeon — and dream. I reconstruct the history of the olden times; and then, in the light of present tendencies, I forecast the possible future. Thus I picture the reforms that might be, and think out at length what other people ought to do in order to create an ideal world. I suppose no one ever yet objected to an ideal world, provided other people would bring it about; for, in each man's ideal world, he himself is the center, and he always has everything he wishes. The only trouble about creating it is the fact that it requires present labor and sacrifice, and the aforesaid other people are not unselfish enough to undergo them on our behalf.

Among the things I have always wanted in my ideal world — when it comes — is an ideal newspaper. I have long objected somewhat seriously to the real newspaper of the real world. I think that I have always appreciated, quite as fully as anybody, the wonder and glory of its past achievement and its present position and power. And yet I have never been quite satisfied that it had, as at present conducted, earned the right to supersede the school and the church — all the old educational, moral, and religious institutions — as some of its more enthusiastic advocates have modestly hinted. I may as well here frankly acknowledge, for it is sure to come out incidentally if I do not, that my editorial experience is somewhat limited. It consists chiefly in the fact that I have read editorials frequently, have had a more or less inti-

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mate personal acquaintance with a good many editors, and have sometimes been obliged to note the limitations of the editorial mind as revealed by their dissent from my opinion as to the value of certain articles, both in prose and verse, which I have offered for publication. But this limited experience has not at all shaken my confidence in my editorial theories. It may even have had the opposite effect, and I am all the more comfortable in my opinion when I reflect that majorities rule in a democratic country, and that I am quite sure I shall have the majority on my side. Let me illustrate this point a little, and see how the same principle works in other directions.

If any one imagines that my lack of experience, or even knowledge on the subject, diminishes the value or validity of my opinions as to the editorial function, I can easily silence him by pointing to a few facts. For example, I suppose it is an unquestioned fact that nobody knows so little about preaching as the minister. If in these times when everybody is discussing the question as to why people do not go to church — though, curiously enough, the churches are increasing in number all the time — a minister should be so fortunate as to have a thousand hearers, he knows perfectly well that at least a thousand people know better how to preach than he does. If he does not know this, he must be a dull man, even for a minister. One person knows that his sermons are too long, though the whole service be no more than an hour and a half. Another knows that he ought, or else ought not, to preach without notes; still another, that he ought, or else ought not, to let politics alone in the pulpit. Somebody else is aware that he furnishes too little of the sincere milk of the word, or else that he does not deal enough with the secular topics of the day. It is common talk that he is too aristocratic, or else is not high-toned enough; that he does not sympathize enough with the young, and so make himself a successful rival of the skating-rinks; or, perhaps, that he is not grave enough to suit the old, who have outgrown their youthful follies. It is not at all necessary that a man should ever have preached, in order to be abundantly qualified to tell a minister what he ought to be and do to satisfy a thousand contradictory tastes and opinions. It will even be found generally true that a person who does not go to church at all is wiser in this matter than anybody else.

This point might be further illustrated by noticing the wisdom

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of unmarried people in the matter of training children. Having received a good deal of advice on this subject from unprejudiced old bachelors and old maids, I have learned thoroughly to appreciate its worth. And the same is true in business matters generally. What man ever yet failed, after a brave fight with circumstances that he could not control, that he did not find a host of friends about him ready most cordially to acknowledge that he had made a fool of himself, and that, if he had taken their layman's advice, in a matter in which they had had no experience, everything might have been all right? So I think it must be plain, to every thoughtful person, that my ability to tell how a newspaper ought to be edited, is presumably beyond question.

The always wise Mr. Hosea Biglow, in his last deliverance to the public, says, referring to the fact that he had never been in Congress:

> "I hain't no chance to speak
> So's't all the country dreads me onct a week,
> But I've consid'ble of that sort o' head
> That sets to home an' thinks wut *might* be said."

So, though I have never edited a newspaper, I have had the audacity to do a good deal of thinking as to how one might be edited. And, after all, I suppose all candid men will admit that a man need not be a French cook in order to have a well-grounded opinion that his soup is not improved by finding a fly in it.

I sat, then, one evening in my easy-chair, with my feet elevated at the angle that every one of my gentleman readers will appreciate, looking across the paper lying in my lap at the glowing coals in my open grate, and seeing in the fire the growing outlines of the newspaper that is to be. At first, my thoughts wandered over the past and the present, and noted the really wondrous and grand things that the newspaper has become and is doing to-day. Four things I chiefly thought of, and it is only fair that I do them full justice, by way of suggestion at least, before I proceed to those things for the mention of which the whole editorial fraternity will think my presumption exceeds all bounds.

In the first place, as I glance over my paper, I think of the scattered tribes of long ago. Then, of the isolated peoples, each one, like China to-day, fancying itself the center of the earth; shut in with its own petty egotism, and with no means of communication with the rest of mankind. Then, I see the

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courier on horseback, on a laborious and dangerous journey, taking some message over a slow and little-traveled route. Picture after picture, phase after phase, of industrial development passes by my mental vision, until at last I see the seas turned into ferry-ways, and the continents into net-works of rail and wire. The earth has become a vast whispering-gallery. And the paper in my lap has caught up and stereotyped all that the great world said and did yesterday, and thus has tossed the globe upon my breakfast-table. Two or three cents now bring more information to every door than even the learned of mankind could know a hundred years ago. Wisdom is a gift of nature, and is not to be found even in books. But to-day even the poorest man may be intelligent if he will. If he cannot be well educated, he can at least be "well smattered," which Gail Hamilton says is the next best thing. And this marvel the newspaper has wrought.

In its accomplishment of this work the newspaper has done something grander still, of which perhaps neither editors nor others have taken sufficient account. Not even all the preachers have done so much as the newspapers in developing a practical sense of human brotherhood, and so helping on that kingdom of man which is the real kingdom of God. Isolation means misconception, and, as a consequence, enmity. If he is a foreigner, fling a stone at him,—that is the old impulse born of supposed self-interest. Now no sensible man wishes even a foreign war, for he has learned the community of human interests. And nothing has done so much to spread this knowledge as the newspapers. They are helping "Peace on earth, good-will to man," more than all the Christmas sermons.

Another noble service of the newspaper is that of creating an arena for free debate on all debatable subjects in heaven and on earth. It constitutes a universal town-meeting for politics, a more than royal society for science, a real œcumenical council for religion. Any one paper may be ever so narrow, ever so much of an "organ," but it cannot prevent some man's starting another paper across the way, and it cannot hinder the people's reading both of them. So, first or last, all subjects have a chance for free and unbiased discussion. And from such a discussion the truth has everything to hope, and error everything to fear. Heretofore, timid opinions have had abundant opportunities for shunning the direct rays of investigation. But the day of universal reading has

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dawned. Universal thinking will follow. Then wo to that which is afraid of thought! All this was impossible a hundred years ago, or in any age preceding that. But now it advances in a geometrical progression. More than all other agencies, the newspaper is doing this. Henceforth, if any man holds a pet opinion, of the truth of which he is not quite sure, and yet that he is specially anxious to keep, let him make certain that the receptacle he treasures it in is light-proof. The atmosphere of the coming age will not be favorable to the preservation of perishable fruits, whether in politics, science, or religion.

One other office the newspaper fills, that of public conscience and detective. The collective newspapers of the world form a sort of world-brain, through which mankind comes to a consciousness of itself. And in this mirror of world-consciousness, it sees and passes judgment on world-actions. Never before were the nations so amenable to the common conscience of mankind. No secrets can long be kept. "There is nothing covered that shall not be made known." To-day there is no nation so mighty but it fears to be brought before the bar of public opinion. Wars are no longer undertaken lightly. Their methods are become more human, and the weakest and most struggling people knows it has an advocate in the universal sense of right, of which even the most conscienceless despot is afraid. American opinion influences the course of a war in China. And Russian diplomats must reckon with the tone of the German press. So hastens on "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." Without the newspaper to bring public opinion to bear, and to serve as the medium for the public conscience, the old isolation would return again, and all this would be impossible. In a similar though less important way, the newspaper serves as a detective in individual cases. The time is rapidly approaching when there will be no last corner left on earth in which a criminal can securely hide. Even now, there are few places where he is not in danger of reading a description of himself in the first paper he picks up, as he looks for the time of departure of the next train.

All these things in favor of the newspaper flitted through my mind as I sat musing and looking into the grate. And I said to myself: "If an editor is not particularly hard-hearted, how can he possibly be angry with a critic that begins to find fault only after making such grand concessions?" And I have not written

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all this down, as Lowell says, to "git the good-will of the orjunce." I have done it because it is just. And if I criticise, it is only as one might criticise a picture that was being finished by a favorite artist, for the sake of having it as nearly perfect as possible. For it does seem a pity that so grand a possibility should be marred by such grave defects. Let us then proceed to note what some of these defects are.

Suppose we make a visit to the editorial rooms of the "National Palladium." This is one of a vast number of papers, each of which has the largest circulation, the largest advertising patronage, the largest number of foreign correspondents, the largest corps of home reporters, and the largest everything in general in the whole country. The first thing that attracts attention is the sort of mystic authority and air of supernal wisdom that seems to enshroud, and, at the same time, illumine all editorial utterances. The dogma of the church's infallibility is fast passing out of the belief of all intelligent readers of the newspapers; but I sometimes find myself wondering as to whether editorial infallibility aspires to be the new prophet and wear the old mantle. For now and then some editor, in a confidential mood, will let drop the opinion that the newspapers are already doing more good than all the churches, and will hint his expectation that the press is gradually to supersede most of the religious and educational institutions of the world. Upon careful inquiry you will find that this editor is by no means distinguished for either education, piety, or morality. But one suspects that this kind of writer is taking on something of the priestly function, and that the editorial virtue is supposed to reside in the office, whatever the man may be. Two or three slight indications of the "Palladium's" mystic wisdom it is worth while to notice a little in detail.

In the first place, however insignificant—physically, mentally, or morally — a writer may be, he swells to the proportions of a majestic "we" when he "wields" the editorial pen. And, by the way, I believe that nobody but newspaper writers ever "wield" a pen nowadays. When in the presence of this "we," I always think of the plural *Elohim* —"gods," translated "God"— in the first chapter of Genesis; and of how the commentators get over the polytheistic implication by declaring it to be similar to this editorial usage. Here again is a curious suggestion of a higher than individual authority, that hints a parallelism between the sanctum

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and the sanctuary. I am aware that this usage was once supposed to be a modest device to avoid the repetition of the egotistic *I.* But, nevertheless, the effect is the opposite of modest. And, after all, why should it not be made apparent that any particular newspaper utterance is only the opinion of some one not very uncommon individual, and not the outpouring of some collective fountain of wisdom, having a source higher than the ordinary human level?

In the next place, even if religious authority is declining, superstitious authority has not altogether died out. Many people appear to have an extraordinary veneration for the printed alphabet, though they treat the very same letters, spoken or written, with supercilious contempt. For instance, John Smith, on the street, may be held in no very high esteem. His opinions are simply those of John Smith, and every one feels at liberty to disregard or contradict what he may say by word of mouth or in private correspondence. But, besides being a general Bohemian about town, engaged in all sorts of haphazard occupations for a living, he has the *entrée* of several newspaper sanctums, and now and then appears anonymously in the editorial columns. On these occasions, although he utters the same trite or nonsensical things that are disregarded on the street, he becomes surrounded with the superstitious halo that seems to envelop the whole mystery of the printing-press. He speaks out of the clouds; and people read, ponder, and even think it worth while to reply to him.

Another sign of infallibility is, that no editor is ever known, under any circumstances whatever, to confess ignorance on any subject, or to admit that he has ever been in the wrong. To do so seems to be regarded as a sort of infidelity to the press. The people look to it for light and guidance; and light and guidance they shall have. Though any particular editorial writer has not mastered any one field of research, still it is his office, as an editor, to be equally at home in all fields. And if some member of the opposition proves him to be palpably and grossly ignorant, several resources are always open to him. It may be too hard work to study up the subject; but he can always rely on the partisan bias of most of his readers, and also on their being as ignorant as himself. So, if a still stronger assertion of his position is not enough, he can always accuse his opponent of being bribed to undermine the prosperity of the laboring classes; or, perhaps, in-

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sinuate something concerning the moral character of his grandfather. It not infrequently happens that an editor makes some false or injurious statement about the personal character or business relations of a citizen; but his infallibility will rarely allow him to apologize. He may possibly admit that some new employé in the office has been mistaken; or, more boldly, he may allege that appearances fairly justify the inference drawn. In any case, he can always have the last word. And, in the end, individuals find it more prudent to sit down quietly, even under the grossest injury, than to attempt to secure justice in a case where the opposing counsel is at the same time jury and judge and executioner.

There is one development of journalism concerning which the people are not over thoughtful, and into which the newspapers themselves should put a little more conscience and care. The great body of correspondents at the national capital have come to wield almost a despotic power. Each day they hold in their hands the distribution of political news for the whole country. The interests of the country demand that a work like this be done in a spirit of judicial fairness, especially when dealing with the "other party." There should be also a sense of proportion, a comprehension of the relative importance of news. But too often the correspondents of the "Palladium" are not so anxious to furnish a fair and balanced account of what has really taken place as they are to "make a point" against the Administration, or in favor of "our paper." And not infrequently it comes to pass that a news-gatherer takes rank, not according to the accuracy of his reports, or because of sending home such news as is most important, or that the Government wishes to have known, but is rated high if he gets something for his paper that none of the others get, or if he can be two hours ahead of any other paper. And he is sometimes regarded as particularly "smart" if he can scent out some government secret, and publish it before the authorities want it known. No matter what the effect of this may be; it is at least "enterprising," and if it turns out not to be true, no matter. The issue that contradicts and explains affairs will sell as many copies as that containing the original statement. So, whatever else happens, papers are sold and the circulation increased. And as a paper is great by as much as it sells, the grand end of journalism is accomplished. Owing to this unique power, and to the fact that all news from the capital must go through them, it naturally follows that the corre-

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spondents can practically make or unmake any public man's reputation. A man can be returned by his constituents only on the strength of his reputation. And as these makers of reputation are somewhat lofty in their estimation of themselves, and naturally work for a consideration, of course most public men—all but the very strongest—will be their very humble servants. The one that is polite and deferential to them, the one that flatters their power, the one that uses his position to help them in getting the latest news, lawful or unlawful, he will be their favorite. In all their reports, he and his family will be handsome, he will be eloquent, he will be wise. While if anybody pursues an independent course, or if, for any reason, they do not like him, they can either bury him under a fatal silence, or "write him down." It is not strange, then, if the newspaper correspondent comes to regard himself as "a bigger man than"— almost anybody else.

Hence it is that the "great" man of one year sinks out of sight the next, and is never heard of afterward. The newspaper made him. He lived and moved and had his being in "puffs." And when the puffs cease he vanishes. It is vastly amusing to see how ordinary dresses become "elegant," how plain ladies become "distingué," and dull ones grow "brilliant," at a congressman's reception, when Jenkins is invited and given a prominent place.

Then the "Palladium" always goes on the assumption that what the average newspaper reader wants is peppery gossip. The scent is particularly keen for a juicy morsel that smacks of the innermost privacy of some prominent man or woman. If the great public would only stop and look at itself as the newspaper sees it, the portrait would not be specially flattering. Its style of catering does not imply a very delicate sense of either smell or taste on the part of those it is supposed to feed. I picked up a daily only a day or two ago, and nearly half of its headings on the first page were either of such a nature, or were treated in such a way, as to suggest the "Police Gazette."

It is not altogether uplifting to note how the recent illness of our great war leader and ex-chief magistrate has been dished up for public consumption. We have had spread before us the most curious, not to say repulsive, details. Of course the country has been anxious to know his real condition from hour to hour. But not only have the papers published nauseous descriptions of all the happenings of the sick-room, accompanied by ghastly illustrations

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of him in all sorts of attitudes, they have even gone so far as to publish all his private, personal habits, as to neatness or the lack of it, capping the whole business with a minute description of the state of his teeth, the accumulations of tartar upon them, and his neglect of the tooth-brush. And if the worshipers of Emerson were shocked to have the unsympathetic public informed of the commonplace fact that their "god" actually liked pie, what shall one say of having a great hero laid out for this sort of vulgar dissection? And when a rumor gets abroad concerning the domestic infelicity of any well-known man or woman, the privacy of his home, as well as those of all his friends, is liable to be fairly besieged by an army of reporters. They will sometimes openly demand all the particulars, under the threat that, if their request (?) be not complied with, they will be obliged to publish what they believe to be the facts. And it is often hinted that perhaps the real facts would look better in print than the version already in their possession. It never seems to occur to them that it is none of their business, anyway. And the sturdy old British saying that "An Englishman's house is his castle" seems to be regarded as a relic of the "effete despotisms" of the old world that has no place in a free and glorious republic like ours.

To that phase of newspaper development which is represented by the work of the reporter it is difficult to do any sort of justice, either in portraying its goodness or its badness. One is tempted to extravagance both in praising and cursing. Of course no fault is to be found with the thing itself; for reporting is the newspaper's breath of life. Without the reporter we may have essays and editorials, but no *news*paper. And it is the reporter, home or foreign, that furnishes the editor with his themes. When one considers the patience, the persistence, the fertility of resources, the tireless devotion rising even to heroism, of the average reporter, one's admiration is inspired almost to the pitch of writing an epic in his praise. When, on the other hand, one remembers some horrible experience, when, having fallen into the hands of the reporters, he envied Daniel in the lions' den, because the mouths of the lions were "stopped"; when he reflects that a reporter can not only be an ass, but, as Sothern used to say, "so many kinds of an ass"; then even the mildest man begins to understand what it might mean to commit a crime, for there is murder in his heart.

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In justification of this somewhat forcible language, I wish to hint at a few experiences with the "Palladium." This paper does not seem to select its reporters on the ground of either knowledge or judgment, but rather because they can write with sufficient rapidity, and are supposed to be enterprising. Enterprise, in a reporter, is like charity; it covers a multitude of sins. Let me give one or two illustrations of their way of doing things. As I sat one day talking over this matter with one of the editorial staff, a somewhat excited and depressed-looking clergyman came in. Said he: "Mr. Editor, your reporter has got me into what promises to be a serious difficulty." "Ah," replied the editor, "sorry for that. What is it?" Then he went on to explain. It seems that some of his soundest hearers were a little drowsy a Sunday or two before, and only waked up to what their minister had said when some one called their attention to it as reported in the "Palladium." The reporter had made a fairly straightforward report, but it was longer than there was convenient room for that morning. Instead of taking the trouble to condense it, they had chosen the easier course of cutting it in two in the middle. This left the minister in the position of having fully stated the position of some heretical opponent; and, as his reply was omitted, these opinions appeared as his own. So some of the more zealous of his flock had actually made a move to have him brought before the Synod. And, since it is well known that "corrections" rarely reach the people that have read the original error, our good Doctor of Divinity was in a fair way to find his orthodoxy impeached all over the land. I found it was a common practice to send one reporter to take down six or even a dozen sermons in one morning. The natural result was, that he got the introduction of one, snatches of the middle of most, and the end of the conclusion of another; and this made nonsense of them all. The ministers had got tired of protesting, and were obliged to hope that the people would not think them quite so idiotic as the papers made them out to be. And instances are not infrequent of very imaginative reporters not getting to the church at all until the whole service is over. In that case, they write out a column or so of their own, replete with arguments that the minister never thought of, and brilliant with metaphors he never heard of, and then they modestly feel that the clergyman ought to be obliged to them for making him preach a better sermon

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than usual. This inventive genius frequently displays itself in elaborate reports of people that were not present at a public meeting, but had been advertised to be. Though, like the reporter himself, they were not able to be present, they find that this little incident has not interfered with their receiving most generous applause, any more than it has stood in the way of the reporter's telling what he did not know.

And when—as is sometimes popularly supposed to be the case, even with sermons—the good preacher is a little tame, the reporter will kindly volunteer to put in some startling thing he did not say, for the worthy purpose of heightening the dish's flavor to suit the reader's taste. I had a case of this sort once in my own experience. After, with consummate ability, getting every single point I had made wrong end to, the reporter's genius fairly took him off his feet. He remarked that, at the close of my sermon, I created quite a sensation (!) in the audience by a reference to Guiteau. As a matter of fact, I had never mentioned his name in the pulpit on that or any other occasion. And I have a friend whose sermon—reported by some imaginative person who, not being present, did not hear a word of it—was quoted by an English review as an illustration of the depths to which the American pulpit had fallen.

But the crowning feat of the "Palladium's" reporting is what is called the "interview." Let it be clearly understood that no fault is found with the thing itself. When properly done it may be made not only interesting, but profitable, instructive, and helpful for all concerned. It is only the "Palladium's" methods to which I take exceptions. It is supposed to be a taking thing to publish somebody's opinion on a certain subject. So a reporter calls on him. That he has no opinion on the subject, or that he wishes to keep what he has to himself, is a matter of no moment. An interview is wanted, and an interview must be forthcoming; otherwise, the reporter's reputation for enterprise is gone. The victim is suspected of holding such or such views, and he is informed that he had better speak to set himself right. Some other journal has already said so or so, and he had better correct it. No matter that the reporter does not write shorthand, and so can only take down fragmentary notes. No matter that he does not know anything about the subject, and so is sure to misinterpret anything that is said. The next day the poor man finds himself driveling on through a column or two, the most of it in quotation marks, headed by his name

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and all his titles. He has been "written down an ass," and there is no help for it. And all his political antagonists will pick him up, and sneer at him, on the basis of what he did not say. I came across one poor fellow that had been rendered insane by this process. He was now actually as crazy as the reporters had made him out to be. He was really quite harmless, but he took me one side and, in a mysterious voice, assured me that if he could only once kill a reporter, he felt that he could then die happy.

Is it not true also that many of the newspapers, instead of being firm and unbiased seekers after and teachers of the truth, are rather interested advocates of some special party or cause? They are generally all fighting for some position with rewards of some kind attached to it. They therefore see only one side of any question; or, if they do see another, they seem to feel it to be a duty to suppress it. They talk chiefly of the success of their cause, and the interests of their constituents. It therefore follows that "the man of one newspaper" will be only another name for a blind and narrow-minded partisan. I find also that it does not at all necessarily follow that an editorial writer is expected to believe himself what he is trying to make his readers believe. No matter what his personal convictions may be, a man will often take a lucrative position on any paper, and advocate any set of opinions to which the paper may be committed, or which the "market" at that particular juncture seems to call for. I have heard of one very "smart" writer who, during a great moral controversy between two leading organs, by private arrangement and all unknown to the public, actually wrote the leaders on both sides. It appears therefore that, in reading an editorial, one can rarely be sure that he is getting the *bona fide* opinion of anybody. If a paper is on a paying basis as the organ of any special party or clique, a man of quite the opposite belief will sometimes take it and "run it," just as a man will "run" a cotton-mill, for the sake of the money he can make. It is somewhat difficult, therefore, to discover whether these leaders of public opinion themselves possess any opinions at all. Once on a time, when Mr. Moody was carrying on a great revival in a certain city, I happened to know of a paper that, as one of its managers expressed it, was undertaking to "do the heavy religious," in order to extend its country circulation. And it happened that hardly a single person thus engaged had any belief whatever in the work.

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The "Palladium's" advertising columns, and its methods of dealing with cases of crime, are somewhat puzzling to one that attempts to reconcile them with the great moral and religious claims of the press in general. For instance, the editorials often grieve over the alleged decline of family morals, and the frequency of divorce; while, in the same issue, the reporters are left free to turn the revelations of the police and divorce courts into the juiciest kind of jest. Marital infidelities, brutal husbands, and heart-broken wives become the material for filling up the "funny" column. They seem to have improved on the beatitude, and made it read, "Blessed are they that weep, for others shall laugh." And the advertising columns, under the thinnest of all disguises — as mediums, or fortune-tellers, or personals — are full of all covert invitations to the very things over which the editors shed their regretful tears.

And when some brutal, bloody, or filthy crime is committed, it will be spread through whole columns. Diagrams lead everybody's imagination to the spot, and the most disgusting details are given in full. The editors admit that such things tend to increase the volume of crime. They denounce a class of papers that go into the business a little more frankly and fully than they do. They encourage a society for the suppression of vice. They try to put down a class of juvenile publications the effect of which is to familiarize youthful readers with crime. And still they lend their own papers to a similar business. I have been much interested in one editor's defense. The gist of it was, that the people wanted it, and for the sake of it bought large numbers of copies of the paper. I ventured to suggest that that line of defense would be equally good on behalf of the lowest groggeries, or of houses of prostitution, or of gambling dens. Another editor took up another plea. He said: "My theory of a newspaper is, that it is the history of the world for a day. And as this, alas, is not yet an expurgated world, we must take things as we find them." I ventured to reply: "The newspaper is not a complete history of a day. Were it to attempt to be, it would enter into such minute and secret details of life as would disgust everybody. It is only a question, then, as to precisely where the line is to be drawn. And I say, draw it within such limits as will make it healthy for family reading." And again I ventured a suggestion. I argued that, since such details were not necessary to the

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statement of the fact of a crime, since they were no aid to the police, and were not in the interest of public morality, it followed that only one motive could lead to it—the desire to make money by any means that the public taste would endure. And this motive was equally good on behalf of any disreputable business whatever. At this point the editor's infallibility seemed to come to his rescue; for, though he did not reply, still he would not confess himself in the wrong.

And then the "Palladium," in its apparent zeal to exterminate all evil, falls into such a habit of indiscriminate abuse of public men and public measures, and of other papers, that when it needs to attack some real evil it has no language left by which it can do any sort of justice to the subject. The people have come to feel that "newspaper abuse" may only mean that its object is some great and good man who is trying to accomplish some noble end. The cry of "Stop thief!" is heard so often that no attention is paid to it; or it actually becomes a cover under the shade of which the real thief can make off with his plunder. The abuse, then, only helps the bad and does not injure the good. A clipping from a leading daily reveals a newspaper's own confession as to the attitude they maintain toward each other: "The millennium has started. Its point of departure is Philadelphia, where one paper actually admits that a contemporary has actually rendered important public services. Judging from the example of the papers of New York, it will be a long time before the millennium strikes that city."

There is one point more that seems to demand notice. On the part of business men, club men, and men of the world in general, there seems to exist a wide-spread spirit of cynical pessimism. And I am persuaded that newspaper methods have something to do with this. The fact is that never, in the whole history of the world, were there so many noble men, so many true women; when society, when governments, when all departments of human life, were in so healthy and hopeful a condition as they are to-day. What is the reason for the pessimistic opinion? Too largely, I believe, it is owing to the method that the newspapers take for reporting crimes. Ten thousand men in Cincinnati to-morrow will meet their checks and pay their honest debts, and nobody but the men to whom they are paid will know anything about it. Somebody will commit a forgery in Cincinnati to-morrow, and the next day it will be told of

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in all the newspapers, in great head-lines, leaded so as to make as much display as possible; and people will read it, and feel that everybody that has a chance is ready to commit a forgery.

It is the theory in the modern world that nothing is news that is not mean and wicked; or that this pre-eminently is news. A million people behave themselves, but that is no news. Nobody thinks of reporting that, or saying anything about it. But if one contemptible man, any miserable tramp, anywhere in America, commits a meanness, they not only note the fact, but tell us all about it. If there is a drunken broil, a stabbing affray in South Boston or at the North End, not only have we the statement of the fact, but we are treated to a diagram as large perhaps as was devoted to the map showing the war in Egypt, telling us where the kitchen and sink were, where the coal-hole was, and everything else about the place; just where the man stood, where he was when he fell down, where the body lay when it was discovered, how much blood there was on the floor. All these slaughter-house details must be spread through every home in the city.

To say that all this is necessary in order to report the news, is absurd. Many noble papers have proved that a better way is practicable. To say that more papers are sold this way, is probably true. But this is a confession that making money is the chief end of a newspaper, and this places it on a level with the grog-shops and the houses of ill-fame. The best are always in a minority. The van-guard on the march is always less in number than the main army. It will always "pay" to cater successfully to the crowd. When Miss Bertha Von Hillern was having her great walking-match, a certain editor said to me: "If I should publish in my next Sunday paper a new essay by Emerson, I should perhaps sell five hundred extra copies. A full report of the walking-match will sell twenty-five thousand." But if merely making money is what a newspaper is for, let it be frankly stated and understood. We shall then hear somewhat less about the great moral and religious influence of the press.

Now I would not for one moment be understood as charging that all the newspapers are open to the criticisms I have made, or that any one is liable to them all. But I do say that some newspapers are guilty in these directions; that most of them are sometimes guilty; and that newspaper methods in general are capable of great improvement. The newspaper leaves ought to be, and can

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be, like the leaves of the wonderful tree in Revelation, "for the healing of the nations." It hurts one then to see them worm-eaten and withered.

I have taken the case of the "National Palladium," as a well-known illustration of the worst methods. Everybody has seen this paper, and knows that it is not mythical. It is because the old employés of this paper sometimes get on to the working staff of better journals that they also occasionally display its indefensible characteristics. When, by eliminating these faults, the press justifies its somewhat premature boast of being able to supersede the church, I know of one minister at least who will, without any jealousy in his heart, cheerfully exchange his pulpit for some useful position in the sanctum, where he may still continue his work for truth and man. But he is not yet ready to write to order, and for pay, either in the pulpit or out, since he still cherishes a few articles of personal property labeled "opinions."

M. J. SAVAGE.

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TEMPERANCE REFORM STATISTICS.

If any men on earth ought to be truthful, not only in intention but in fact, they are the men engaged in the current temperance reform; they have everything to lose, and nothing to gain, from incorrect statements. One who calls attention to errors of fact made by them should be regarded as doing them a service, and not as making an attack upon them. To render such a service is the aim of the present paper. Some years ago, the State Central Committee of Illinois sent out a circular that contained the following assertion concerning the liquor interests of the country:

> "Their retail trade upon which revenue was paid for the year 1867, was in round numbers, $1,484,000,000. This gives $43 for every man, woman and child in the country."

This statement is made, not concerning the combined direct and indirect cost of intemperance, but concerning the retail trade in beverages. In substance, it has been often repeated, with its amount growing as the years go by, by men of whose good judgment and honest intention there can be no doubt. There may be a sense in which it is true; but repeated inquiry has proved futile for finding out what that sense is, and it is difficult to imagine what it can possibly be. In any meaning that it conveys to the ordinary reader the statement is certainly untrue, and grossly so; it requires no great insight to render one certain of that. The sum of $43 for each person in 1867 was not far from one-third of the entire income of the country. Less than one-third of our population, certainly, are habitual patrons of the retail trade in alcoholic beverages, and as drink is a great impoverisher, the drinking class, on an average, have smaller incomes than others. It follows that, according to our committee, one-third of

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the people of the country, in 1867, spent for liquors, on an average, considerably more than their entire incomes, leaving them less than nothing wherewith to pay for food, clothing, house rent, and other supplies. That such statements are circulated, year after year, by truth-loving men, in the interests of a cause that has no legitimate basis except truth and justice, is a strange phenomenon. Conduct like this goes far to account for the alleged apathy of the present generation of thoughtful persons toward temperance. What is one to do with a cause that has his fullest sympathy, when its advocates insist upon his accepting untruths as the condition of his co-operating with them?

Improvement has been made in temperance statistics, but the statistics now most widely published still need to be extravagantly discounted; they are still notes on Queer Street in which ordinary people cannot afford to deal. One of the best known works on this subject is the book entitled "Our Wasted Resources," by Dr. William Hargreaves, published by the National Temperance Society. The edition cited in this paper is that of 1882. The standard of price adopted by Dr. Hargreaves is, by the pint, seventy-five cents for domestic liquors, a dollar and a quarter for imported liquors, sixty-three cents for wines, ten cents for native ales and beers, and thirty-eight cents for imported ales and beers. All this is quite in contrast with the expression "the three-cent liquor dens," which he uses on page 56, and shows that he certainly does not err in the direction of making prices too low.

The product of distilled spirits reported in 1870 by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue was, omitting the smaller numerals, 72,500,000 gallons. To this Dr. Hargreaves adds the total manufacture of fermented drinks, and the import of spirits, wines, and malt liquors. At his scale of prices, he makes the total to be about $619,000,000. He meets the objection that a large proportion of these goods was used for other purposes than drink, by an offset, which may be reduced to three items. First, he estimates that 13,000,000 gallons of domestic and imported liquors somehow escaped being reported. Secondly, he estimates that there were something like 14,000,000 gallons of domestic wines not included in the reports. Thirdly, he estimates that the dealers put 7,500,000 gallons of water into the liquors which they sold at ten cents a glass. He thus obtains an aggregate of about 35,000,000 gallons to offset the alcohol product that went for other

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than beverage purposes that year. For part of these estimates, and only part, he offers some basis of fact. The element of estimate enters pretty freely into all his work, and his style of estimating shows no bias toward making the amounts as small as possible. For 1871, Dr. Hargreaves says that, according to the Internal Revenue Report, the product of domestic spirits was 57,000,000 gallons. But, for this year, he does not follow this report; instead, he bases his computations upon the quantity that paid a tax for 1871. This he makes to be 63,000,000 gallons, 6,000,000 more than the quantity produced. By diluting to the extent of twenty per cent. he brings up the product to 76,000,000 gallons for that year. Then, adding the same items as in the case of 1870, but adding twenty per cent. for dilution to the imported spirits, he sums up the liquor bill of 1871 at $680,000,000, an increase over the previous year of about $61,000,000. For 1872, Dr. Hargreaves returns to the production report, which gives 69,000,000 gallons of spirits. With this exception, he uses the same items as for 1871, and makes the same allowance for dilution. He thus obtains an aggregate of $736,000,000, an increase of about $56,000,000.

It is natural to ask how it happened that the dealers put twenty per cent. of water into their liquors in 1871 and 1872, and only ten per cent. in 1870. It is also curious that the amount of the alleged dilution should be required, in 1870, to offset the legitimate uses of alcohol, but should not be so required in the two following years. It is further evident that when Dr. Hargreaves uses for one year the number of gallons produced, and for another the number of gallons on which the tax was paid, he is guilty of the fallacy of adding units of different denominations. Had he used the tax statistics for each of the three years (78,000,000 gallons for 1870), and made the same allowance for dilution in 1870 as in the two following years, he would have increased the statistics of that year by more than $125,000,000. Had he used the production statistics for each of the three years, and left out all the water, he would have reduced his estimates for 1871 by about $114,000,000, and for 1872 by about $84,000,000. The motives for the course he has taken seem to be transparent. Either the production reports or the tax reports show a decrease of twenty per cent. for 1871, as compared with 1870, in the item of distilled liquors. The difference is owing to changes in the

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internal revenue laws, of course, and not to changes in the consumption of liquors. For the fiscal year that closed in 1870, the reported production, or the tax paid, was so exceptionally large as to afford no indication of what the average annual amounts might be; but Dr. Hargreaves has treated this as if it were an average year. If he had used the tax statistics for both this year and the year following, or if he had used the production statistics for both years, the results would have sharply exposed his fallacious assumption. They would also have begun to show the fact that the increase in the consumption of beer, from 1870 to 1880, was accompanied by a corresponding decrease in the consumption of distilled liquors. Dr. Hargreaves has avoided both these results by padding the statistics of 1871, first to the extent of 6,000,000 gallons, by using the tax statistics instead of the production statistics, and secondly by watering the whisky to the extent of about 13,000,000 gallons more. The second of these items he has retained for 1872. By these processes he has contrived to make it appear that the quantities reported in 1870 were normal, and that there was a steady increase in the use of distilled spirits during the following years. No charge of dishonesty is here preferred against Dr. Hargreaves; but his arithmetical processes disprove the adage that "figures will not lie."

The facts in the case are briefly these. For a series of years, the quantity of domestic spirits consumed, both for beverages and for more legitimate uses, ought nearly to equal the quantity on which the tax is paid. This averaged (according to page xxxiv. of the Internal Revenue Report of 1879–80, and page lxxiv. of the Report for the following year) about 67,000,000 gallons a year for the five years beginning with 1869, and the same for the five years beginning with 1870. For the five years beginning with 1871, the average was 64,000,000. Then it steadily decreased until it became 57,000,000 a year for the five years beginning with 1876. For the years 1881–83, there was a sudden and large increase. Its suddenness shows that it must be accounted for by some unusual and temporary cause. As a matter of fact, the cause is said to be the special efforts made by the manufacturers to dispose of a portion of their immense surplus of products.

These facts will help us to estimate the following, from the "Homiletic Monthly" of November, 1884, page 841:

"Intemperance has been increasing far more rapidly than the population.

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We do not merely assert it; we prove it; or rather the figures furnished by the Government Bureau of Statistics prove it. We reprint them. The annual consumption of beer has increased from 23,000,000 gallons in 1840, to 551,000,000 in 1883; that of distilled liquors from 43,000,000 gallons in 1840, to 78,000,000 in 1883; that of wines from 5,000,000 gallons to 25,000,000. The number of gallons *per man* has increased from a little over four in 1840, to a little over twelve in 1883."

The writer of this extract can hardly have failed to notice that, according to his numerals, the consumption of distilled liquors decreased from about two and a half gallons per inhabitant, in 1840, to about a gallon and a half in 1883. Had he taken any one of the seven previous years, the reduction would have been not far from one-half, as compared with the quantity consumed in 1840. The fallacy of his reasoning consists in his comparing twelve gallons, mostly of lager beer, with four gallons, two-thirds of which was rum or whisky. If he will revise his computation, he will probably reach the conclusion that, according to his numerals, the quantity of alcohol consumed per inhabitant, in the form of spirits, beer, and wine, in 1840, was a trifle larger than in 1883. The showing would be still better if, instead of the exceptionally large statistics for 1883, he had used those for any of the previous years. He proceeds to argue that "beer does not drive out whisky, or lessen the consumption." But this assertion is quite in contrast with the statistics he has just given, which show a reduction of nearly one-half in the consumption of whisky, as compared with the population. He supposes himself to have proved the assertion, by citing the steady increase in the quantity of tax-paying spirits for the past five years. But the quantity paying tax for these five years is not merely less relatively to the population, but is absolutely less than for the corresponding years of the previous decade, and averages nearly thirty per cent. less than that given in the Census Reports for 1860. It would be far more correct to argue, from the steady diminution in the use of spirits for the ten years preceding the last three, that the beer does drive out the whisky. But there is no certainty of the correctness of this conclusion. Perhaps the phenomenon should rather be explained by the fact that our Irish and Scottish population have been coming in great numbers into the total abstinence ranks, while the habitual drinkers of alcohol have been largely recruited from England and the continent.

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It is evident, therefore, that if we assume the premises of these gentlemen to be true, still their results, thus far, must be largely discounted before we can believe them. But they make matters vastly worse when they come to compare the alcohol product of the country with other standard products. On page 44, Dr. Hargreaves, speaking of the sum paid for intoxicating beverages in 1870, says:

"This cost for drinks is nearly one-sixth of the value of the manufactures of the United States in that year, which was $4,232,325,442."

To begin with, 619,000,000 is not "nearly one-sixth" of 4,232,000,000, but only a little more than one-seventh of that sum. But this is a trifle. The sum described as that of the value of manufactures is explained by Dr. Hargreaves, in the table that he gives on page 17. There the values are given evidently at manufacturers' cost prices. He compares the products at one profit below their lowest wholesale value, with the intoxicants at their highest retail price largely exaggerated. The comparison is a sham. Its unfairness becomes conspicuous when we observe that one of the items of manufactured products on page 17, is "liquors, spirits, malt, etc.," there reported at $94,000,000. Of the $619,000,000 for beverages for that year, according to Dr. Hargreaves, $556,000,000 were for domestic distilled and fermented liquors. In other words, for the purpose of comparing, he has inflated the manufacturers' value of this class of products from $94,000,000 to $556,000,000, that is to say, about 591 per cent. If he had inflated the rest in the same ratio, his result would have been considerably less than one-fortieth, instead of "nearly one-sixth."

Dr. Hargreaves is by no means alone in this sort of arithmetic. A certain chart which has been very widely published in the family newspapers, and which was conspicuously posted as a political handbill during the last Presidential campaign, places our annual bill for drink at $900,000,000, and compares with it, among other items, our bread bill at $505,000,000, and our meat bill at $304,000,000. It is sufficient to say that this makes the average cost of bread and meat to an American citizen to be about thirty cents a week! We may add that the amount mentioned as that of our meat bill is exclusive of all retail butchering establishments, and that the total value of our distilled, malt and vinous liquors,

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as given in the tables from which the above numerals were taken, is $144,000,000.

But our statisticians support their conclusions by what they call independent lines of proof. Dr. Hargreaves says (page 112 and elsewhere) that in 1872 we had 161,000 licensed retail dealers, and that each of these must have done a trade of $5,000, or more, making $800,000,000 in all, and that this confirms his previous result of $736,000,000, with a margin of $64,000,000 for illicit whisky. Estimates thus based upon the number of United States licenses play a prominent part in these so-called temperance statistics. The number of drunkards in the country seems to be ascertained solely by the process of multiplying the number of licenses by four. To find the amount of labor expended in the liquor business, Dr. Hargreaves assumes that each of the 161,000 must have had at least one man to help him. With his accustomed liberality of estimate, he adds other numbers to this, making a total of 546,000 men, whose earnings he rates at $500 a year each. We should be glad that he is so merciful. Already in 1867, when the number must have been less than in 1872, our Illinois Central Committee had asserted that more than 600,000 were engaged in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. The estimate of Dr. Hargreaves seems to have become the standard one; it is cited, with approval, in Dr. Dorchester's book, "The Liquor Problem," and in other respectable works, and these works dignify his numerals with the name of "statistics." Let us see what claim they have to statistical value.

The idea that every United States license represents a dram-shop, in which two or more men are employed for the whole of their time in dispensing beverages to a continuous procession of thirsty customers, each shop being the loafing-center of a group of sodden inebriates, is as mistaken as it is common. If a druggist has a storekeeper's license, and sells a few hundred dollars' worth of alcoholic liquors during the year, in small quantities, to be carried off the premises, that does not take the whole time of two persons, nor, perhaps, one-tenth of the time of one person, and a large part of the time it takes should be credited to the sale for medicinal and other proper purposes. Such a place has no squad of loafers who belong there and nowhere else; it does not make annual sales, for beverage purposes, to the amount of $5,000, nor, on an average, of more than a small fraction of that amount.

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If a widow or a cripple sets up a little country store, or a neighborhood grocery in a town, and keeps, among other commodities a barrel of beer on tap, taking out the necessary license therefor, that does not constitute a dram business of $5,000 a year, nor provide exclusive headquarters for four habitual drunkards. The vending of that beer does not afford steady occupation to two able-bodied men. The hotels and restaurants that do a large enough business to employ more than one man exclusively as bar-tender, are relatively few; those where the bar-tender has other work to do besides selling beverages are relatively many. A little reflection enables one to see that the places that make only small sales, whether in connection with other business or not, are numerous. The estimate of Dr. Hargreaves, applied to the year 1880, would be that considerably more than 500,000 persons were that year employed in vending liquors at retail. But by the census for that year, the whole number of saloon keepers and bar-tenders was 68,000, and the whole number of hotel and restaurant keepers and employés was 134,000; and a hotel or restaurant large enough to employ one man constantly in vending liquors is large enough to employ many persons as clerks, porters, waiters, chambermaids, and in other capacities.

In what is called the indirect cost of alcoholic beverages, the items currently enumerated are, first, the value of the materials and the labor that enter into the production of liquors, and secondly, what may fairly be called the bill for damages. We have already seen how extravagantly it is customary to estimate the first of these items. We have now to notice that it is fallacious to use it at all as additional to the losses commonly classified under the head of direct cost. It is not competent book-keeping to charge the liquor traffic, first, with the aggregate of all its materials, labor, and profits, at the largest possible estimate of the selling price of the completed product, and afterward charge it, additionally, with the items that entered into that aggregate. There is, as we shall see, an aspect of the case in which it would be correct to say that the labor and materials are lost; but in the present computation, if these are mentioned at all, they should offset the subsistence and the profits of the persons engaged.

We now reach the bill for damages. As already seen, Dr. Hargreaves, multiplying the licenses of 1872 by four, computes that there were then more than 600,000 drunkards who were losing a

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full half of their time by drunkenness. Then he estimates that the number of tipplers that lose as much as one day in the week by their drinking habits, is not less than one-sixth of the adult male population, making, by the census of 1870, 1,404,323 tipplers. These are in addition to the drunkards, for he adds the two together in his estimate, making the hard drinkers to be more than 2,000,000 in number—nearly one-fourth of our adult male population. At $500 a year for each man, he sums up the two items at $296,000,000 (page 115). Again he is merciful compared with the Illinois committee. They estimated, in 1867, the tipplers at 6,000,000, and the confirmed drunkards at 1,000,000. At the close of October, 1884, the Executive Committee of the Prohibition Party of New York State announced that 375,000 copies had already been issued of a leaflet that says the drinkers of the United States are 25,000,000, the drunkards 1,000,000, the immoderate drinkers 7,000,000 besides the drunkards, and the liquor saloons 250,000, 3,000,000 of the moderate drinkers being church members. In the same inclosure with this leaflet comes another document, which appeals to the 17,000,000 church members in our country. Most of our church members are adults. These figures justify the inference that we have, outside of the churches, a population of some 38,000,000, mostly children, and that 22,000,000 of these habitually indulge in intoxicants, some millions of our children being hard drinkers! These figures are not intended as a burlesque; they come from eminent and godly men, banded together to testify in favor of holiness in American politics; they are sent to me with the message: "Vote as you pray, my brother." Thank you, dear friend, I will. But when I pray, I try to tell the truth.

But in spite of the extravagance of these statements, and of the false pretense involved in calling them statistical when they are not so, the annual loss to the industry of the country through intemperance is something enormous. Another item in the bill for damages is a large percentage of the annual cost of pauperism, crime, insanity, and idiocy. Another is the shortening of life through the use of liquors. One authority estimates that 60,000 drunkards die annually in the United States, and that each has shortened his life ten years by drink, making an annual loss to the amount of 600,000 years of productive labor. The statisticians further allege that certain life-insurance companies have conclusively

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proved that men who never become drunkards shorten their lives by what is sometimes called moderate drinking. If the aggregate of years thus lost could be ascertained, it would form another enormous item in the bill for damages. Through drunkenness, switches are misplaced, large fires are started, destructive accidents of various kinds occur on land and sea, and business is transacted inefficiently. These are important items, whether we can tabulate them or not. Very many of the most valuable lives in the community are largely diverted from more profitable uses to the task of taking care of those who have ruined themselves by drink, and of otherwise repairing the damages done. In the drinking places are bred, not only damaging political jobs, but lawlessness and riots. These result in the violent destruction of values, and in the still greater losses caused by the derangement of business. And all the horrible moral evil that attends intemperance reacts harmfully upon business interests. In this matter of the bill for damages, it is probable that the items omitted by the temperance statisticians would, if presented, more than balance their extravagance in the items they present. Even without statistics, most persons would probably estimate the losses of this sort as immensely larger than the amount paid at retail for the liquors drunk. The damage that an intemperate man does to himself, in his lifetime, in dollars and cents, would seem to be a larger item than the amount that he pays for the liquors he drinks. The items of damage seem to be larger than those of cost, and there are a great many more of them.

To sum up the results thus far reached, the men whom I have been criticising hold that the statistics show that intemperance is appallingly on the increase—that is, that the temperance cause is alarmingly on the wane. On the contrary, the statistics show that the evil has not increased in relative magnitude, though it has changed in form; and that the cause has kept pace with the increase of population. But such a cause ought, as a condition of surviving, to be gaining upon the population.

They hold that the liquor and beer business of the United States, counted as one interest, is not merely the leading business of the country, but is so far in the lead that all other industries are dwarfed in comparison. The fact is, that it is not, to this extent, the leading business of the country; it is not the leading business of the country at all. Measured on the same scale, several of the industries that they are accustomed to compare with it greatly

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exceed it in magnitude. It is simply one among several of our leading industries.

They hold that the annual sum now paid for liquors at retail exceeds $900,000,000 and that the indirect cost is enough to bring the total up to $2,500,000,000 annually. But so much of this is mere estimate, and the whole is so vitiated by exaggeration and by the duplicating of items, that it is not even a guide to a plausible guess at the actual amount. One thing of importance it clearly shows, beyond all possibility of cavil, namely, that the items involved are so vast that the aggregate must be measured by hundreds of millions of dollars. Anything much more specific than this it does not show. The total cost, direct and indirect, is not $2,500,000,000. It may be half that; it may be some hundreds of millions more or less than half. The fact is enormous and horrible as it stands, and it is not wise for those who war against the evil to magnify so startling a fact into a weak exaggeration.

But when we are inquiring as to the actual loss to the country through its drinking usages, there are still further reductions to be made, particularly in the item we have found described as direct cost. So much of this item as represents the amount paid for taxes, together with the profits of the business, remains in the country, and goes to employ industry and to stimulate production and trade. But, on the supposition that alcoholic drinks, on the whole, do just as much harm as good, the whole body of the material products that enter into their manufacture is a dead loss. Tens of millions of bushels of grain annually, thousands of car-loads of wood and coal, millions of feet of lumber, quantities of brick, lime, metals and other materials used in building and repairs have all gone into the production of drinks, and, on the supposition now before us, nothing has come out. These materials have been lost, precisely as if they had perished by fire or flood. The same is true of the annual use of the capital invested. The same is also true of all the labor employed in transforming these materials into beverages, and in transporting and vending the beverages. All these materials, labor, and capital, were capable of being used for human comfort. At the point where this capability ceased, at their proper valuation at that point, they went out of existence as values, and nothing came into existence in return for them. The men were paid for their labor, to be sure, but if they had not been earning their living in this way, they would

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have been earning it in some other way. We have seen above that it would be fallacious to add this loss to the retail cost, because it is a part of that cost. But that does not prevent its being genuine and utter loss. We have no means of determining closely its amount, but we know that it is measured by hundreds of millions of dollars.

The case of the cost at retail differs from that of the bill for damages, in that the items of the latter are all of the nature of loss. In the matter of the positive evils caused by intemperance, there is no part that is of the nature of an addition to the wealth of the country. The amount of the financial loss thus caused we cannot estimate with accuracy; for purposes of close measurement, the statistics now before the public are worthless. But they do show that, in the two departments, the absolute loss to the country, through the use of alcoholic beverages, amounts, not merely to some hundreds of millions of dollars, but to a good many hundreds of millions annually.

Once more let me enter the protest that to call attention to these matters is not to attack the position of the temperance reform; it is, on the contrary, the most valid defense of that position, at the point where it is weakest and most needs defending. To overstate such facts as we have been traversing is to break their force by rendering them incredible; to remove the exaggeration is to restore to the truth the power of which it had been robbed.

WILLIS J. BEECHER.

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THE PRICE OF GAS.

ABOUT the middle of the last century, the Rev. John Clayton discovered an inflammable gas issuing from the ground in one of the coal counties of England. He collected the "coal spirit" as he termed it, in bladders, and afterward distilled it in retorts. An account of his laboratory experiments fell into the hands of Robert Murdock, who was the first to demonstrate by a series of inventions the value of coal-gas as an illuminant. In 1792 Murdock lighted a number of large shops in Birmingham. It was not until 1810 that a company was started to supply gas in the City of London. Although extensively used for public lighting, its introduction for domestic purposes made little progress for many years. This was due in part to the crude and incomplete state of the art. Instead of being served from a holder, the gas was furnished to the consumer fairly hot from the retorts. This, Winsor, the promotor of the first London Company, claimed as a decided advantage, since the danger of keeping such an inflammable article in stock was obvious.

The size and simplicity of the earliest gas undertakings may be understood by reading a letter written in 1821 by Thomas Jarman, of Bristol, England, to a correspondent in New Haven, Connecticut. He writes: "No accident has ever happened in Bristol since the works began, except that one evening an unlucky mouse got into the first pipe, and by moving a valve prevented the gas from passing the mains, and consequently all the lamps went out, and the city was plunged in total darkness." He adds—and this gives us the date of what was perhaps the beginning of hostilities between consumer and producer—"It is intended to sell gas by meter, as some abuses have crept in by individuals burning the gas longer than they contract for."

The whole weight of authority and scientific opinion was against the feasibility of lighting by gas. Lord Brougham declared

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that the idea was worthy of the philosopher who proposed to extract sunbeams from cucumbers. The first Napoleon impatiently declared "*C'est une grande folie.*" Even so eminent a scientist as Sir Humphrey Davy asked Murdock contemptuously: "Will you take the dome of St. Paul for a gas-holder?" The Committee of the House of Commons, to whom gas-lighting bills were referred, reported on them unfavorably again and again. "Do you mean to tell me that it will be possible to have a light without a wick?" asked the chairman of such a committee of Murdock. "Yes, indeed I do." "Ah, my friend," said the legislator, "you are trying to prove too much." Forty-one witnesses were examined before one of these committees, and their united testimony condemned the use of gas as dangerous and impracticable. Among the arguments much in favor was the one that the introduction of gas would destroy the whale-fisheries. In 1833, the great oil dealers of New Bedford, alarmed at the increasing use of gas, sent out agents offering to light various cities at prices much below the then market-rates for whale oil. The opposition of the people was of the strongest sort, and took many absurd forms. It was gravely asserted in this country when, in 1816, the question of building gas-works on the English plan in Baltimore was under discussion, that the extensive use of gas would raise the price of butchers' meat, for, it was argued, if gas supersedes candles, the price of tallow will be reduced in value, and purveyors of meat must charge a greater sum for the lean portions, so as to realize the value of their merchandise. Householders refused to allow the pipes admission to their premises, professing to believe that explosions, fires and new diseases would be indiscriminately distributed by the subtle and poisonous compound. Winsor met these objections by equally absurd claims in favor of the new illuminant. From a pamphlet published by him, we learn that breathing gas is a most healthy practice, and that when people are fully alive to its merits, so far from fearing leaks in the pipes, they will drill small holes in them so as to insure a constant flow of the salutary emanations. He also produces affidavits of officers of the law declaring that they could detect the features of a thief as well by gas-light as by day-light, of painters certifying that the varnish distilled from tar was superior to the best Japan, and of farmers who predicted that ammonia water from coal would drive every other fertilizer out of the market.

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Except that the older system developed more slowly in keeping with the times, the progress of gas and electric lighting has proceeded in substantially parallel lines. After its discovery, gas had its delirium and fever, during which the wildest delusions were fostered, and the most magnificent undertakings were set on foot, only to end in financial disaster and thorough loss of public confidence. Winsor was thought a dangerous enthusiast and dreamer when he promised to return £500 for every guinea invested in the first London Gas Company. But the development of this industry has outstripped even his calculations.

There were in London, in 1856, thirteen gas companies, which have since been reduced to three by absorption and consolidation. These companies now employ in their business a combined capital of $66,259,522. They made in 1883 from 2,140,143 tons of coal 21,989,899,000,000 cubic feet of gas, for which there was received the sum of $15,341,188. Their profits at 15.73 cents per thousand feet on the amount of gas sold at 70 cents per thousand, enabled them, after carrying $274,626 to a surplus account of $5,376,849, to show an average net profit on their capital of 11.09 per cent. The works of the company chartered by Winsor in 1810, now cover 150 acres of ground, 2,200 men are employed, and 25,000,000 feet of gas are made daily.

Outside of London, the industry has increased in like proportion. In 1860, there were over a thousand chartered companies in Great Britain, with an invested capital of nearly $100,000,000. In the last twenty-five years, the capital has increased to $250,000,000.

In this country statistics, though less accessible and accurate, furnish abundant demonstration of the enormous and increasing profits in gas undertakings. In 1863, there were 433 companies in the United States. There are now 860, with an actual capital invested probably in excess of $200,000,000. Nominally it is much greater; for although there is no business in which, from the standpoint of public utility, competition is more illusory and ruinous than in gas making, there is also none which has of late years fallen so effectually a prey to it. The result has been to overwhelm a splendid industry with a burden of watered stock, representing little besides the destructive ability of the competitor and the taxable apathy of the public. The gas companies of New York City afford a flagrant example of the effects of such method. In 1857, two companies with a combined capital of $2,000,000, supplied the

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city annually with 770,000,000 cubic feet of gas. The capital invested to each thousand feet produced was $3.35. The price of gas was $2.50 per thousand. On the plea of a reduction in the interest of the consumer, one company after another was organized, and along with the natural increase of capital to provide for increased consumption, there went a fictitious increment, represented by stock issued at a discount to pay for the duplication of works, mains, holders and services, and to purchase real estate, patent processes and the necessary legislation. In 1875, over 3,000,000,000 feet of gas were furnished by five companies whose aggregate capital was $19,950,000, or $5.65 per thousand. The average cost of gas, repairs and depreciation written off, was $1.65 ; the average receipts from the consumers $2.76 per thousand. Thus in the face of largely reduced cost, the price of gas was advanced between the years 1857 and 1875, over 15½ per cent.

In the year 1884, seven companies made over 4,500,000,000 feet, at an average cost of $1.02 ; the average receipts being $2.13 per thousand. By the consolidation of six of these companies into one, their loan and share capital was raised from $18,308,920 to $39,078,000, which, on the present basis of production, carried the capital of the consolidated company to $10.30 per thousand feet. On this capital a dividend of 3½ per cent has been declared from the earnings of the first six months of 1884. When this capital is contrasted with the rate which obtained in 1857, and $3.23, the present rate in London, and it is established that the same conditions exist outside of New York City, it is easy to understand the reason of the excessive charge for gas which prevails in this country. This accounts also for the fact that while English companies in the last few years have steadily reduced their rates from $1.80 to 70 cents, and in some towns to 30 cents, the average price in American cities and towns is fixed at $3.00.

A variety of causes have operated to bring about this embarrassment of capital and its rapid accumulation in one industry. At the foundation lies the popular misconception that a permanent reduction in gas charges would result from free competition. Forgetting the approved maxim of Stevenson, "Where combination is possible, competition is impossible," municipal and State authorities have ever been ready to grant unrestricted charters to new corporations. In the war of rates that follow the establishment of a rival company, the advantages are all with the new-comer.

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Popular favor, gas of an improved quality, a carefully selected and compact territory soon enable it to dictate to its older competitor, terms which result in a pooling agreement, or a practical consolidation of capital and interest. In either case the public pay the bills of the experiment in an immediate restoration of rates.

The gas bills of the people of New York City aggregate nearly $10,000,000 a year, the natural increase being at the rate of 5.27 per cent per annum. To what an extent this charge may depend on the will or caprice of a single individual appears from an incident of the gas war of 1879. Gas was selling in the neighborhood of $1.00, and negotiations were begun to end the competition in a pool, the rates to be advanced to $2.00. The managers of the rival companies had agreed to combine on this basis, when a single stockholder who controlled one company, insisted that the price should be fixed at a higher standard. He was able to carry his point, and during the four years' life of the pool a uniform charge of $2.25 was exacted. The additional tax levied by the stockholder amounted in that time to $2,000,000.

Charles F. Clark, the Chairman of a committee appointed in 1875 by the Massachusetts Legislature to investigate this subject, said in his report: "No advantage ever came to the people from competing companies. They do not compete for the sake of the public, but to divide the business and to combine." This is further shown by John Stuart Mill, who, when the same question was prominent in England some years ago, summed it up in the following logical terms:

"It is obvious how great an economy of labor would be obtained, if London were to be supplied by a single gas or water company, instead of the existing plurality. Were there only one establishment it would make lower charges consistently with obtaining the ratio of profit now realized. . . . It is therefore an unthrifty dispensation of the public resources that several costly sets of arrangements should be kept up for the sake of rendering to the community this one service. It is much better to treat it at once as a public function; and if it be not such as the government itself could beneficially undertake, it should be made over entire to the company or association which will perform it on the best terms for the public."

But besides the authorities, the managers of local and established companies have themselves to blame for the varying values of their securities arising from the exposed and precarious tenure of their business. In the exercises of peculiar and valuable privileges, usually obtained without consideration, they have dealt selfishly with

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those upon whom their life and scheme of operations depended. By fixing the price of their commodity without relation to its cost and a fair return upon the investment, and by involving their business in useless mystery, they foster a spirit of opposition among their patrons. On the principle of "*omne ignotum pro magnifico*," this spirit is easily aroused by the cupidity of outside speculators. Thus is brought about the organization of a new company to do the work which the old one might have monopolized with entire economy and satisfaction to the public.

An illustration of this short-sighted policy is furnished by the conduct of gas managers in two large towns near New York City. In one, the people having for many years submitted to the multiplied exactions of a monopoly without apparently being able to devise another remedy, opened the streets to two new companies, and, for a season at least, they rejoice in the blessings of cheap light. In the other a similar state of exasperation is working itself out in an attempt to fight the gas company with kerosene. In this borough lamps and candles have now quite banished the more convenient burner, the gas managers refusing to reduce their charges, and the citizens being united not to pay them.

The multiplication of gas companies in this country in the last fifteen years has also been assisted by the introduction of various new processes of manufacture. What is known as water-gas, as distinguished from that obtained from coal, is now furnished by one hundred companies in as many cities of the United States. In New York the production is about equally divided between the two gases. A comparison in their cost shows a scarcely appreciable difference in favor of the new gas. It possesses, however, a higher illuminating power, and being heavier, and so more economical to the consumer, it has become a formidable weapon against the adherents of the old system. They, in fact, have been cast into a most unreasonable panic by the advent of a competitor, which is now more dreaded, because more known and felt, than the electric light. Instead of devoting their energies to cheapening the cost and improving the quality of their own product, they have indulged in broadside denunciations of the water-gas as unfit for use and injurious to health. On this latter ground it has thus far been kept out of Massachusetts by express statute. Without entering on the merits of this question, it

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is sufficient here to point out the fact that, as at present manufactured, the cost of water-gas is entirely dependent on the market price of naphtha, a by-product of petroleum which is used as a carburetter in the proportion of five gallons to each thousand feet of gas. The price of naphtha, on the other hand, is at the mercy of the Standard Oil Company, which has the monopoly of its manufacture. In the event, therefore, of a craving for extra dividends, too strong to be resisted by the managers of that company, or what is probably a more remote contingency, the failure of the oil-field, an amount of capital estimated to exceed $50,000,000, now invested in water-gas properties, would be rendered, not wholly, but in large part, unremunerative.

But indications are not wanting that point to a settlement of the vexed question of gas charges by other and surer means than a multiplication of the sources of supply. We are indeed only repeating here the experience of older countries in respect to such undertakings. The competitive idea brought most of the companies of England to the verge of bankruptcy. Finally, in 1860, Parliament, on the application of both producers and consumers of gas, intervened, and by the passage of a series of well-considered laws brought about a substantial harmony of all the interests involved. This was done in the city of London by restricting the companies to particular districts, by fixing an initial price for gas and a standard of purity and illuminating power, and by limiting the dividend to ten per cent. upon the capital employed, with a further provision known as "the sliding scale," by which this standard dividend might be increased one-quarter of one per cent. with each reduction of one penny in the price of gas.

Theobold Forstall, in an address delivered in 1883, when President of the American Gas-light Association, said, while urging the adoption for this country of the above features in English legislation :

"The fact that, although organized for private gain, a gas company is really a corporation established for a public purpose with rights and privileges enjoyed by no private industry, places it in a relation to the community very different from that occupied by other business corporations. The right to enter dwellings, and to break up and occupy the public streets without compensation, entails the correlative duty not to abuse these privileges by making them the source of undue profit to individuals."

That Mr. Forstall, who is also the president of the oldest gas-

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light company in Chicago, has the courage of his convictions, a letter in a Chicago newspaper of June 4, 1885, bears ample witness. In denying the report that his company proposes to combine with a competitor at advanced rates, he says :

"This company reduced the net price of gas to $1.00 per thousand deliberately, after mature consideration, with the expectation that increased consumption and improved methods of manufacture would make this price moderately profitable. The result has fully justified our hopes, and confirmed the wisdom of the policy adopted. This company will now make contracts to supply consumers with the best quality of gas for five years at a net price of $1.00 per thousand cubic feet."

The influence and example of a few intelligent managers like Mr. Forstall is producing a wholesome effect on the profession at large. The Legislature of Massachusetts, on the petition of the leading gas officials of the State, passed a bill at the last session constituting a commission to inquire into the relation of the companies to the public, and as far as possible to adjust their differences. In Philadelphia the operations of the gas trust are the subject of legal investigation at the present time. A variety of abuses have been shown to exist by a citizens' committee having the matter in charge. The works, which are the property of the city, have been extravagantly administered, and in the interest of a political ring. It is proposed to place them in charge of a competent superintendent, and to reduce the price of gas as near cost as may be expedient. Situated as it is, there is no reason why the price of gas in that city should exceed ninety cents per thousand. In New York, a State Gas Consumers' Association has recently been formed. It numbers among its members some of the most influential and prominent citizens of the metropolis. Under their auspices, a bill was reported to the last Legislature which embodied the main features of English legislation. It was based on a thorough investigation of the affairs of the city companies by a special Senate committee. The bill passed the Senate almost unanimously, but was defeated in the House by methods which were characterized in resolutions adopted at a public meeting held subsequently in New York as "a disgrace to the Legislature of this State and to managers of gas companies who pretend to be respectable men and good citizens."

Whatever the full merits of the various controversies between the gas consumers and the companies, it is manifest that the struggle

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must end by the submission of the latter to a regulation by appointed authorities of the character and charge of the commodity which they furnish. With a permanency of tenure secured to the companies in exchange for a reasonable divison of the profits, the producer and consumer will both fare better. The source of the remedy to be in future applied, is plainly indicated by Judge T. M. Cooley, of Michigan, in a recent paper on a kindred subject.

"If the Legislature, instead of attempting to keep down extortionate charges by gas and water companies by granting the same franchises and privileges to competing companies, would limit by law the profits which a single company in the enjoyment of such franchises might be allowed to make, it would thereby secure a supply of water and gas to consumers, at the lowest possible figure, and, at the same time, give to investors a fair return of profit upon the capital invested."

CHARLES HULL BOTSFORD.

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THE SPOLIATION OF THE PUBLIC LANDS.

THE Homestead Law of 1862 may justly be considered the most important legislative act since the formation of the Government. It constitutes at once an epoch in legislation and an enduring landmark of industrial and social progress. It was not borrowed from the code of any other people, but is distinctively and thoroughly American. No other single enactment has done so much to make our country honored and loved in all civilized lands, while it bears strong witness to the beneficent working of Democratic institutions. It is the outgrowth of the same causes that gave us cheap postage, the extension of the suffrage, the abolition of slavery, and the struggle of the working classes for their rights. Of course, this measure was not the work of a day. It was a gradual development during a period of more than three-quarters of a century, and its successive stages cannot fail to interest the student of American politics.

Our land-policy, in the beginning, was devised "for revenue only." The great debt incurred in the struggle for independence had to be provided for, and as the lands committed to the charge of the general Government through cessions of individual States were of almost illimitable extent, and there was then no system of Federal duties on imports, Congress was obliged to look to the public domain as the only available means of financial relief. This necessitated sales in very large tracts to wealthy capitalists and corporations, and thus powerfully stimulated the evils of speculation and monopoly. Hundreds of thousands of acres were sold in a body at a very low rate, and the purchaser, of course, disposed of it according to his sovereign pleasure. These evils were the price the country was compelled to pay for its endeavor to keep faith with its creditors and provide the means for carrying on the Government. As a factor in this finan-

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cial problem, the "settler," who in later years has been so formidable a figure in our politics, was unknown, save as an intruder and trespasser, who was warned off the public lands. Their occupancy was forbidden by proclamation of Congress as early as 1785. This policy was reaffirmed in 1804; and by act of Congress of March 3, 1807, it was provided that the Marshal of the Territory might remove settlers from the public lands, with the aid of any required military force, and that they should be liable to a fine of one hundred dollars, and imprisonment not longer than six months. This harsh legislation, however, was not very strictly enforced. It seemed exceedingly ungracious to the poor pioneer, who was willing to face the wild beasts of the wildnerness and the scalping-knife of the Indian, in the struggle to secure a home on the frontier.

The right of preëmption on the public domain, which means the right of a settler thereon to purchase in preference to others, rested on an obvious sense of justice and the necessities of the settler, and was first partially recognized by Congress in the act of March 3, 1801, affecting settlers on the Symmes Purchase, northwest of the Ohio. This was followed by numerous other acts, extending over a period of forty years, applying to particular States and Territories, and providing for preëmption rights in particular cases and on special conditions. The most important of these was the act of May 29, 1830, granting to every settler in possession at the date of the law, who had cultivated any portion of the land, one hundred and sixty acres. This act was limited to one year; but by various subsequent acts, reaching to June 1, 1840, preëmption privileges were extended to a later date and a larger class of persons. The Government thus presented the anomaly of conferring the exclusive right to preëmpt its lands upon those who had violated the laws of the United States by their occupancy; and this legislative irony only gave renewed strength to the current in favor of settlers. The revenue feature of our land policy had outlasted the reasons that excused it. The receipts of the Government from cash sales of land from 1830 to 1840 were nearly eighty-two million dollars, thus swelling the redundant and demoralizing surplus over which Congress wrangled for so many years, while a very large portion of the lands sold fell into the hands of non-resident speculators, and were thus placed beyond the reach of the settler. It was estimated that in 1835 alone eight million acres

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were thus appropriated, and it became more and more evident that a new policy had become absolutely indispensable. At last, on September 4, 1841, our general Preëmption Act became a law, superseding all previous enactments on the subject, which had been retrospective in their bearing, and definitely providing for the right of preëmption as to all future settlers on the public domain. Our land-policy, which had been on trial for fifty-six years, was thus completely revolutionized. The settler was no longer a trespasser, to be visited with penalties, but was invited by the Government itself to make his settlement, and was offered a home on prescribed conditions as to occupancy, improvement, notice of intention, and payment; and its faith was understood to be plighted that he should be protected at every stage of the proceedings, and should receive a patent for his land upon their completion. Not revenue merely, but the establishment and multiplication of homes for the people, now became the clearly defined policy of the Government; and it seems utterly incredible that this policy could have been so long delayed by a nation that had put away primogeniture and entails, and laid its foundation in the equality and sacredness of individual rights.

But our land-policy was not, in all its features, a finality. The forces that had compelled the enactment of the preëmption law were not exhausted. A great point had been gained, but it was provisional only. Settlers were still obliged to pay a dollar and a quarter an acre for their lands, and this was felt to be a great hardship. It was a tax of so much money for the privilege of cultivating the earth. It was a tax upon the liberty to carve out a home in the wilderness and make it tributary to the national wealth. President Jackson, as early as 1832, had commended the policy of making the public domain, in limited quantities, practically free to settlers, and although it then awakened no general response, it took root in the popular heart, and had steadily multiplied its adherents. It belonged to the logic of our politics, and its triumph was simply a question of time. Owing to favoring conditions, its stronghold, at first, was in the State of New York. The memorable Anti-rent movement began to take shape there in 1839, and continued for seven or eight years, disturbing the peace of a considerable group of counties, violently agitating the politics of the State, and involving some tragical consequences. The struggle, it will be remembered, grew out of the refusal of the tenants of the Van Rensselaer grant from

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the old Dutch Government to comply with the feudal exactions of their landlords; and the leader of the Anti-renters was Thomas Ainge Devyr, who had recently come from Ireland, and had just published a remarkable pamphlet on the land question, entitled "Our Natural Rights." It was a work of real power, written in vigorous English, and it anticipated, by nearly half a century, the boldest utterances that have stirred the public mind on both sides of the Atlantic within the past few years. Mr. Devyr edited "The Anti-Renter," and having found, to his amazement, that the curse of landlordism, which he had fought in his native country, was rapidly intrenching itself in America, he entered the lists against it with fervor and single-mindedness. He went among the farmers of the Anti-rent districts, and while breathing into them his spirit and organizing them for action, he espoused, with equal zeal, the policy of dedicating our public domain to landless men, in limited homesteads, instead of surrendering it to the greed of capitalists.

Equally sincere, and not less thoroughly devoted to the work of reform, was George Henry Evans, a native of England, who in the spring of 1844 began the publication in New York of a tri-weekly journal called "The Peoples' Rights," and of a weekly called "The Workingman's Journal." In these publications he advocated the freedom of the public lands to actual settlers, in allotments not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres. He had embraced this idea years before, and although others may have espoused it earlier, he is justly entitled to take rank as its first conspicuous champion and real pioneer. A bound volume of "The Workingman's Journal," which was published only one year, is before me, and I find it ably edited and filled with valuable matter. It was the organ of "the National Reform Association," which did excellent service in the publication and distribution of pamphlets and tracts on the land question, many of which, as I well remember, were scattered throughout the West and eagerly read. Its name was afterward changed to "The Land Reform Association," which still exists. "The Workingman's Journal" was followed by another weekly, called "Young America," in which Mr. Evans advocated land-limitation, homestead-exemption, and the Ten-Hour Law. The paper was discontinued in March, 1846, but the agitation of the subject went on. On the cardinal question of making the public lands free to actual settlers, he had made an enduring impression upon the

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public mind, while his power over his early disciples seems to have been a fascination. Several of them still survive, and they cherish his memory with a tenderness and reverence that bear witness to the genuineness of the man. Other journals specially devoted to this idea were from time to time established in different States, and it had among its supporters such men as Horace Greeley, Parke Godwin, Samuel J. Tilden, William Henry Channing, Cassius M. Clay, Charles A. Dana, William Leggett, Arnold Buffum, Marcus Morton, Wendell Phillips, Gerrit Smith, Theodore Parker, and William Lloyd Garrison. The Brook-Farm experiment was then in progress, and its leading spirits, of course, favored the idea. It had been denounced by politicians and newspapers of both the old parties as communisim and socialism, and its advocates abundantly ridiculed as the "vote-yourself-a-farm party"; but it held its ground, and constantly added to its disciples. It found favor with the "Barnburners" of New York, and it was incorporated into the platform of the Free Democracy by its national convention at Buffalo, August 8, 1848. Henceforward it was both a political and a national issue, which could not be ignored.

It was not, however, destined to as speedy a triumph as its sanguine friends anticipated. It now had to run the gauntlet of party politics and Congressional hostility, and as early as December 12, 1848, Horace Greeley, who held a seat for a brief time in the House of Representatives of the Thirtieth Congress, introduced a bill giving to landless settlers the right to preëmpt one hundred and sixty acres for seven years, and, on condition of occupancy and improvement, the "right of unlimited occupancy" to forty acres of the same, without price, by a single man, or eighty acres by the married head of a family. This exceedingly moderate proposition was laughed at and summarily laid on the table; but early in the first session of the Thirty-first Congress, the Homestead Act, substantially as we now have it, was introduced in both houses. Various propositions were offered. The first in order of time was that of Senator Douglas, on December 24, 1849, granting one hundred and sixty acres to actual settlers, on condition of occupancy and cultivation for four years. His earnestness in this movement is very debatable, since it was not followed by any effort on his part to secure the passage of the measure, while he struggled with tireless zeal for his bill making a large grant of lands in aid of the Illinois Central Railway. Mr. Webster, on January 22, 1850, offered a reso-

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lution favoring a similar proposition, but requiring only three years' occupancy and cultivation by the settler, and making the land inalienable except by devise by will. On January 30, Gen. Houston offered a resolution of the same purport, while Mr. Seward was earnest and outspoken in favor of the new policy. Mr. Walker, of Wisconsin, was also its zealous supporter, but his plan required the public lands to be first given to the States, in trust for actual settlers. A very lively interest in the policy had thus evidently been awakened, but as yet it had little support in the Senate. In the House, Timothy R. Young, of Illinois, introduced a bill on February 4, similar to that of Mr. Douglas, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands; and on February 27, Andrew Johnson introduced another bill, requiring an occupancy and cultivation for the period of five years, as a condition of title. This also was referred to the Committee on Public Lands; but as that committee proved unfriendly to the measure, the same bill was again introduced by Mr. Johnson on the 4th of June following, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture, which reported it favorably on July 25. It was debated at different times, but the only men who championed the measure and supported it in carefully prepared speeches were Andrew Johnson and myself; and although I do not believe it had a dozen outspoken friends in the House, and the discussion of it was manifestly very distasteful, there was a determined purpose not to allow a direct vote upon it to be taken. This is shown by the record. The motion to lay the bill on the table, on January 28, 1850, was lost by yeas 78, nays 90; but the motion to refer it to the committee of the whole, on the same day, which was practically equivalent, was carried by yeas 121, nays 64. When the motion was afterward made to reconsider the last vote, on February 28, 1851, and it was moved to lay that motion on the table, which of course would kill the bill, its friends had not even strength enough to secure the yeas and nays, while on the vote by tellers, which committed nobody, the motion prevailed by yeas 92, nays 54. The only sign of promise in these proceedings was the fact that the House was afraid to place itself squarely on the record.

The principal opposition to the measure, however, came from the South. The new policy had made its appearance in the Northern States in connection with the anti-slavery agitation, and it was in fact its natural ally. In recognizing the dignity of labor and the equal rights of the million, it recognized the right of the

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laborer to own himself, and was an implied threat against the life of the oligarchy that stood in its way. The slave-holders understood this perfectly, and they hated the "agrarian project" almost as much as they hated Abolitionism itself. This was clearly revealed in the Thirty-first Congress, in the concerted efforts of Speaker Cobb and his Southern friends to suppress all debate upon the measure and prevent a vote. It was made still more evident in the Thirty-second Congress, in the vote finally obtained on Mr. Johnson's bill, on May 12, 1852. The yeas were 107, nays 56; the strong preponderance of the affirmative vote being from the free States, and of the negative from the South. The bill was reported adversely in the Senate, and no further action was taken. Substantially the same bill was reported by Mr. Dawson, of Pennsylvania, in the Thirty-third Congress, from the Committee on Agriculture, and passed the House on March 6, 1854, by yeas 107, nays 72. An analysis of the vote discloses the same sectional character of the division. In the Senate, the bill was loaded down with amendments that completely destroyed its character. It was introduced in the House in the Thirty-fourth Congress by Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, and on August 4, 1856, on his motion to suspend the rules in order to take it up, the yeas were 105, nays 62; all the negative votes save fifteen being from the South, and all the affirmative but nine from the free States. No action was taken in the Senate in any form. In the Thirty-fifth Congress, Mr. Grow again introduced the bill, but no vote was reached. It was introduced in the Senate by Andrew Johnson, but no action was taken except upon a motion to postpone, which was carried. In the Thirty-sixth Congress it was again introduced in the House by Mr. Grow, and on February 1, 1859, it passed that body by yeas 120, nays 76; all the affirmative votes save three being from the free States, and all the negative but six from the slave States. In the Senate, the consideration of the bill was defeated by motions to postpone, and the vote showed the same sectional character as in the House. At the next session of this Congress, the same bill was reported by Mr. Lovejoy, and on March 12, 1860, it passed the House by yeas 115, nays 65; the affirmative vote being all from the free States save one, and all the negative vote save one from the South. In the Senate, Mr. Johnson offered a substitute for the bill on April 17, which was adopted and afterward amended by the House and agreed to by both houses through the action of a

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committee of conference. It met with an elaborate veto from President Buchanan, who feared it would "introduce among us those pernicious social theories which have proved so disastrous in other countries." It failed to receive the two-thirds vote required to make it a law.

In the Thirty-seventh Congress, the bill was introduced by Mr. Aldrich, and reported from the Committee on Agriculture by Mr. Lovejoy; and on February 28, 1862, it passed the House by yeas 107, nays 16; all the affirmative votes but one being from the free States, and all the negative but five from the South. In the Senate, the bill, with sundry amendments, was passed on the 6th of May following, by yeas 33, nays 7; there being only one affirmative vote from the South, and one negative from the free States, while the smallness of the negative vote in both houses was caused by the withdrawal of Southern members to engage in the work of disunion. The House disagreed to the amendments of the Senate, but the disagreement was adjusted by a conference committee, and the bill was approved by President Lincoln, on May 20. It will thus be seen that, from the first agitation of the homestead policy till its triumph, its popularity in the Northern States kept pace with the growth of anti-slavery opinion, while the hostility of the South increased in the same measure; and that the good work was speeded, at last, by the madness that accomplished the destruction of slavery in the desperate struggle to save it.

This brief history of the Homestead Law strikingly illustrates the halting and left-handed progress of legislative reforms. The great financial exigency that dictated our early policy completely subordinated the settlement and tillage of the public domain to the idea of revenue. This idea so fastened itself upon the general mind that the problem of our land-policy was never considered upon its merits, while the mischiefs of monopoly were allowed free course. The remarkable result was, that the preëmption law had to struggle for its existence more than half a century. Its final enactment was a great victory for the settler; but his right to the unhindered choice of his quarter-section in any portion of the public domain that was placed upon the market was not less important than the right of preëmption itself. The land speculator was licensed by Congress to prey upon the public domain by appropriating to his own use great bodies of choice land, thus throwing himself across the path of the settler, and forcing him still farther into the fron-

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tier and on to less desirable lands, while obstructing the population and development of the country. This partnership between the Government and the speculator in the business of crippling the settler and retarding the increase of national wealth was as stupid in fact as it was indefensible in principle. It was a crusade against the rights of coming generations, and had become a deadly blight upon our Western States and Territories when the Preëmption Law was enacted. As the Federal Treasury was then full to overflowing, there was nothing to excuse its continuance. It was the mere wantonness of legislative profligacy; and the simple and obvious remedy was an enactment that agricultural lands should be acquired under the provisions of the Preëmption Law, and not otherwise. This would have cut up speculation by the roots, and given us a reform in our policy that would at once have been savingly felt in every pulse of the national life. It would have been an act for the creation of wealth by checking monopoly, stimulating settlement, and multiplying the cultivators of the soil. But this was not done. Congress slept over its opportunity, and the work of organized plunder had its way. The speculator was in the day of his glory, while the Government still exacted from the settler its price for his preëmption. At the end of a struggle of twenty-one years, Congress enacted the Homestead Law, through which he secured another great advantage; but his right to a home free of cost was of less consequence than the reservation of the public domain for his exclusive use. The work of spoliation still went on as before. A vigorous effort was made in the House of Representatives by a western member to prevent these evils by an amendment of the Homestead Law, and was persisted in for years, but it did not prevail. The Southern Homestead Law of June 21, 1866, applying to the five land States of the South, dedicated to actual settlement every acre of the public lands remaining unsold within their borders; but this model enactment was repealed a few years later, in the interest of monopolists. In the mean while, the Preëmption Law, with its unfriendly tariff upon the privilege of settlement, had been made an absolutely superfluous machinery by the Homestead Law. It had played its part and served its turn. All that was good in it was saved in the latter enactment, and the country did not need two separate methods of acquiring titles to the same class of lands, which would confuse rather than simplify our policy. But the Preëmption Act was allowed

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to stand, and is still in force. For years it has been so cunningly employed in furthering the game of land-jobbers, that its repeal has been demanded for the very reasons that were originally urged in favor of its passage. Through the sharpened faculties of modern roguery it has become an engine of wholesale plunder and fraud, and an open defiance of the policy of actual settlement. Under color of its provisions, and through fictitious entries, great stretches of the public lands have been made the spoil of ravenous land-sharks, as we have seen in the Territory of New Mexico, while the Homestead Act itself can only be guarded against similar abuses by an amendment requiring proof of actual residence and improvement during a period of at least two years before an entry may be commuted.

Equally indefensible was the action of Congress in another direction. Simultaneously with the passage of the Homestead Law, and as if intending to thwart its provisions, Congress inaugurated our system of extravagant and unguarded land-grants in aid of railways, covering over two hundred million acres. It is true there were strong excuses for this legislation. The need of great highways to the Pacific was then considered imperative, and unattainable without very liberal grants of the public lands. The value of the lands granted was not understood as it is to-day. Moreover, the nation was then engaged in a struggle for its life, or in the settlement of the great problems that followed, and was thus exposed to the dangers of hasty legislation. These are extenuating facts; but the mischiefs of this legislation are none the less to be deplored. They are not, however, so much the result of the grants themselves as the failure of Congress to declare them forfeited after inexcusable non-compliance with their conditions. This failure is equivalent to re-granting the lands. More than one hundred million acres are to-day locked up by these unearned grants, and Congress, in refusing to declare them forfeited and to open the lands to settlement, has been far more recreant to the homestead policy than in making the grants in the beginning.

Nor has the Homestead Law fared any better in still later acts of Congress, which deserve mention in this connection. The practical operation of our Timber-Culture laws has been particularly unfortunate. Their purpose has been almost wholly defeated, and their repeal is demanded both in the interest of the Homestead Law and the growth of timber. Kindred observations apply to

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our laws respecting desert lands. They are systematically evaded and perverted, and to this extent the spirit and aim of the Homestead Law are defeated. Our Timber and Stone Land Act should be repealed for the same reasons. All this legislation has been turned to the account of "land rings," instead of promoting the settlement of the country. In short, the promise of the Homestead Law, as understood by the people in the beginning, has not been kept. Congress has played a game of fast-and-loose since its enactment, as it had done before, while the Land Department of the Government for the past thirty odd years has been far less faithful to the people than to our great railways, as I have shown in a paper in this REVIEW for March, 1883. Our vicious land-policy is the result, and it has not been a mistake merely, but a great national misfortune. Its evils may be palliated, but cannot be undone. It already has its enduring monument in the very curses it has planted in its footsteps and written down in the soil; while the remnant of the public domain yet under the control of Congress can only be saved by so amending the Homestead Law that the whole of it, except mineral lands and timber lands that may be needed for future use, shall be disposed of exclusively under its provisions. This would make our land-policy, at last, the survival of the fittest, instead of leaving it fatally marred by the clumsy processes through which it has been evolved.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

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COMMENTS.

MR. EDITOR: In President Walker's article on silver, in your June number, I find the following: "The movement of public opinion since 1878 has been altogether favorable to a reconsideration of the action that effected the demonetization of silver. * * * It is to be seen on every hand. Perhaps the strongest evidence of change that could be adduced is the recent admission of Professor Sumner, who, while declaring a concurrent circulation of gold and silver to be both 'a scientific absurdity and a practical impossibility,' concedes that an alternate standard 'contains no scientific absurdity,' the question of adopting it being purely one of expediency." In order that this statement might not be before the public uncontradicted for any length of time, I wrote a correction to the "Evening Post," but I beg that you will allow a correction to be recorded in the files of your REVIEW. I should never make any "admission" or "concession" on a scientific question. If I saw that I had been in error, I should avow it and correct the error. In fact, I have made no change in my opinions or statements on this subject. I have frequently put my statements, as above quoted, on record, and have uttered them repeatedly in public lectures for ten years. In an essay on Bimetallism now reprinted in my "Collected Essays," and which dates from November, 1879, I state and establish the two propositions quoted. I have always declared my obligations to Hertzka ("*Währung und Handel*," 1876), for making my convictions about bimetallism as firm as my convictions about the squaring of the circle. I may, of course, be mistaken about the force of the facts and deductions presented by him and adopted by me, but no bimetallist has ever seemed to see what the force of the demonstration against him was, or what he needed to do to overcome it. President Walker, in his book on "Money," quoted a long passage from my translation of Hertzka, but signally failed to join issue on the points in it which are fatal to bimetallism. I regret that he did not find space to confute the proposition that a "concurrent circulation is a scientific absurdity and a practical impossibility," for that is just what I want to see. I know that President Walker can bring strong grounds for any opinion which he holds; but he has not yet done it on this matter, and he will not, I am sure, if he sets about it, give us arguments from analogy about tides, and horses driven in span, and tubs of water connected by a tube. I do not see what importance attaches to a change in public opinion about a scientific question, and I do not quite see the occasion for using my name in that connection. There are those who may think

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that when a change in public opinion is proved by a change in my opinion, a big inference is joined with a little fact. However that may be, I have not changed, and the change in public opinion, for such importance as it has, remains to be proved by other evidence. W. G. SUMNER.

MR. EDITOR: Judge Learned in his article on "The Tardiness of Justice," intimates that since the virtual abolishment of the Court of Chancery in this country there should be scarcely any delay in litigation; in other words, that the Court of Chancery is chargeable with the origin of tardy justice. This is hardly fair. The Court of Chancery is still in full and active force in New Jersey, yet no State in the Union is more fully recognized for its rapid and effective execution of the law. New Jersey and justice are made synonymous in the press in many instances. It is true, much of the justice that receives public praise is meted out in criminal cases, but the decisions in the Court of Chancery of New Jersey are regarded by the Bar of the land as among the best that are made. While there is delay often and justice seems to be handicapped now and then, the Chancellor and the vice-Chancellors of New Jersey expedite business rapidly and with remarkable ability. I do not dispute the general accuracy of Judge Learned's article. There are painful and unnecessary delays in litigation and in equity all over the country, but these delays should not be charged upon the Court of Chancery. A well managed and ably equipped Chancery Court can get through with as much business and in as good shape as any other court known to jurisprudence. LAWRENCE S. MOTT.

MR. EDITOR: In the Stanton-Spalding discussion an important factor has been overlooked: the compound nature of Christianity. Of its two elements, one is Christ's own teachings, which are pure Pharisaic Judaism; for Jesus diverged no more widely from the rabbis of his day, than they from one another. The other element is pagan, made up mainly of Aryan tendencies. These came in as early as the time of Paul's epistles, and were checked only when the reformers of the 16th century opened the Old Testament to the masses. Among these tendencies, the profession of contempt for the flesh, the contrast between flesh and spirit, was as little known to Jesus as to Moses or Ezra. It undoubtedly had its evil effect on the status of woman, while the deification of the Virgin mother, the worship of Alcmene or Semele under the new name of Mary, favored woman greatly. But it matters less to inquire how the heathen were affected by the retention of their old beliefs in a new form, than how they were affected by the introduction of laws and traditions hitherto unknown, which had grown up among the Jews and were stored in the Hebrew Scriptures. Bishop Spalding, as a Christian, could touch but very lightly on this topic. I, who have no share with any other part of the Christian faith, may say a few words. The Hebrew Scriptures nowhere impress on woman the duty to act humbly in man's presence, as the laws of Manu do throughout, and as even Homer's Odyssey does. The curse of Eve is not intended to teach women sub-

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missiveness, but to account for that which they already practice. The laws of Moses do not treat of woman as made for man's pleasure; on the contrary, it is the newly married husband's duty, for a year, to cheer up his wife. The Elohistic account of creation, more thoroughly Jewish than the Jehovistic, puts male and female on a level; they are made, they are blessed, at the same time. The law of Moses demands to be read before the assembly of both men and women (Deut. iii. 1), and it was so read (Nehem. viii.). It discourages polygamy, by demanding absolute equality of wives, both in their own rights (Ex. ii. 1) and in those of their offspring (Deut. xxi. 15); even in the case of the "fair captive," the marriage must be on equal terms (Deut. xxi. 10). Unlike the Roman husband, the Hebrew husband could not take the law into his own hands, when he suspected infidelity (Numb. v.) or inconstancy before marriage (Deut. xxii.). While under the law of the twelve tables, and those of feudal Europe, daughters were postponed to the paternal kinsmen (*agnati*) in the succession of him who died without sons, the law of Moses preferred them (Numb. xxvii.), and fatherless girls were free to marry without their kinsmen's interference (Numb. xxxvi.), while "guardianship in chivalry," with power over the marriage of heiresses, did not cease in England till the Old Testament-reading men of the Commonwealth abolished it. And in the Jewish commonwealth of the time of Christ, daughters were practically preferred to sons; for the "support of daughters" was stipulated in the mother's marriage articles (*kethubah*), and would in all small estates exceed the surplus left to the sons. And these articles, which the rabbinic law demanded in all cases, made the groom say, "I will honor, feed, support, and clothe thee, like Jewish husbands who honor, feed, support and clothe their wives faithfully." The Mosaic law protects widows from oppression and insult (Deut. xxiv. 17), and maidens not only from rape, but from seduction (Ex. xxii. 16), better than the French civil code does now. It knows nothing of the *patria potestas* of the Romans; but the majesty of parents is shared by the mother, who is in one place named first (Lev. xix. 3). Without her concurrence the rebellious son cannot be judged (Deut. xxi. 18); to strike or to curse her is a capital crime (Ex. xxi. 15, 17); to treat her lightly is a deadly sin (Deut. xxvii. 16). "The woman of force," in the last twenty-two verses of Proverbs, was only possible in a community that honored her sex.

L. N. DEMBITZ.

MR. EDITOR: If the examination-papers of any candidate for appointment in the civil service exhibited so large a percentage of error as does the article contributed by the chairman of the Civil Service Commission to the July number of the REVIEW, it is to be hoped he would be promptly rejected. Mr. Eaton begins by assuming that the result of the last presidential election was simply a rebuke of the Republican Party for its unsatisfactory position on the question of civil service reform. Who has administered any such rebuke? Certainly not the Prohibitionists, for they professed to be anxious only about the liquor business. Certainly not the Independent Republicans, for their excuse was personal dislike or distrust of Mr. Blaine. Certainly not the free-traders, for they were calling for reform in the tariff rather than in the service.

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Certainly not the Stalwarts, supposed by some to have resented the rejection of Mr. Arthur, for the out-going Administration was theirs. Certainly not the ninety thousand men in the State of New York that gave their votes to Mr. Cleveland in 1882 and to Mr. Blaine in 1884. A party called upon to settle so many grudges in a single day, that still has a small majority of the vote actually cast (for the Texas returns were withheld a month, and cooked), and with a full vote and a fair count would have thrown a majority of two million ballots, has not been very seriously rebuked by anybody. Mr. Eaton tells us that "it is more clearly understood than formerly that salaries have been made exorbitant in order that large sums might be extorted therefrom for bribing voters and the public press." I have tried to keep myself reasonably familiar with public affairs for a good many years, and I should have said that neither formerly nor now was anything of the sort understood. I have before me a complete list of the salaries paid to United States officials, and I can not find one that seems to me exorbitant. The chairman of the Civil Service Commission should know that neither he nor anybody else can have a right to publish such an indictment without specifications. When he goes out of his way to impute reform and non-partisan tendencies to an Administration that began by giving the most important Cabinet office to a political boss only less notorious than Tweed himself, with whom he was intimately associated; that recalls Mr. Lowell from the court of St. James to make room for a country lawyer whose only eminence is as a reviler of the Government he goes to serve; that follows this up with appointments of unpardoned rebels and actual jail-birds and pirates—when Mr. Eaton commends this sort of thing, he simply renders himself ridiculous and raises a suspicion that the whole reform business may be a fraud. The truth is, he exhibits a total misconception of the workings of that very system at whose head he has been for a dozen years; for throughout his article he lays stress principally upon the non-partisan character of the service to be secured, whereas nothing of the sort is effected. The civil-service rules do not prevent any dismissal, except for refusal to pay a political assessment, and they only compel the appointment of intelligent and educated partisans instead of ignorant ones. Even the boasted re-appointment of Postmaster Pearson was thoroughly partisan; for Mr. Pearson, by keeping his twelve hundred employés at work on a legal holiday, and thereby preventing them from voting, secured the elevation of Governor Cleveland to the presidency. Let us have no nonsense when we discuss a subject of this sort.

ROSSITER JOHNSON.

MR. EDITOR: Gail Hamilton, in the REVIEW for May, maintains that Prohibitionists do not require a separate party. Every voter has an unquestioned right to register his convictions at the ballot-box. Some Prohibitionists, believing that neither of the old parties represented their convictions, formed a third party, and their last candidate commanded such a respectable following as to attract general attention to the party, and it is said to have been a large factor in the defeat of the dominant party. Some people cannot conceive that there are those who can become so indifferent to the contest between the old parties as to cast their lot with an apparently forlorn hope; yet there are citizens who

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would rather be right with their conscience in a feeble minority, than wrong with the majority. Thus far the parallel between the Liberty Party and the Prohibition Party is perfect: the former was the skirmish-line of that sentiment which afterwards crystallized into success in the Republican Party; the latter, under the name of Prohibition, may never rise to power, yet it, too, is but the skirmish-line of a vast army that shall dethrone the drink trade. Gail Hamilton says: "In all States where prohibition has been strong enough to secure legislation, it has secured it through the action of the Republican Party." The Republican Party, when it came into power, found many prohibitory laws which it repealed, as the following table will exhibit:

State.	Date of Enactment.	Party Enacting.	Date of Repeal.
Rhode Island	1853	Democrat	1863.
Massachusetts	1852	Democrat	1868.
Michigan	1855	Democrat	1875.
Connecticut	1854	Democrat	1882.
Nebraska	1855	Democrat	1880.

These laws were modeled after the Maine law. The laws in Vermont (1852, Whig) and New Hampshire (1855, American and Republican) are still on the statute book. In 1874 the Republicans reënacted the law in Rhode Island, but in 1875 they repealed the prohibitory clause. The laws in Maine (1846, Democrat) and Kansas (1866, Republican) have been replaced by constitutional amendments prohibiting the traffic. The law in Minnesota (1852, Democratic) has been so modified by various laws as to nullify it. The Iowa law (1855, Whig and Republican) was modified in 1856 by the "beer clause." The nomination of Col. Jessup by the Prohibitionists in 1877, and the election of Gear by a small plurality, alarmed the Republicans, who in 1879 agreed to submit the prohibitory amendment of the Constitution. Does this look as if the Republican Party were the kite that has a prohibition tail? The States that today have prohibitory laws—total, partial or local—arranged themselves under the old parties as follows:

Republican:

State.	Character of Laws.
Maine	Constitutional Prohibition.
Kansas	Constitutional Prohibition.
Iowa	Statutory Law.
Illinois	Local Option.
Massachusetts	Local Option.
Rhode Island	Local Option.
Wisconsin	Local Option.
Michigan	Local Option.
Vermont	Maine Law.
New Hampshire	Maine Law.

Democratic:

State.	Character of Laws.
Connecticut	Local Option.
West Virginia	Local Option.
Maryland	Local Option.
Georgia	Local Option.
North Carolina	Local Option.
Alabama	Local Option.
Texas	Local Option.
Arkansas	Local Option and three-mile law.
Tennessee	Local Option and three-mile law.
South Carolina	Partial Prohibition.
Kentucky	Partial Prohibition.
Mississippi	Partial Prohibition.

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Ten States under Republican rule, twelve under Democratic. Is Gail Hamilton's declaration deducible from this exhibit? Neither of the two old parties is committed to prohibition; they have only granted the laws when compelled by a determined people, who are now demanding enforced national prohibition.

P. S. GOODMAN.

MR. EDITOR: When American jurists, including your own contributors, discuss "the law's delay" and kindred topics, they, each and all, without a single exception, omit the most important factor of the debate—the date. This is not England and it *is* 1885! As long as her working classes are mental serfs, England can afford to take her own time to change her laws and her legal methods, and then thank God that she is not as other nations, after accomplishing some petty reform which France and America may have practiced for a couple of generations, and sometimes even for a century. But our workers are educated more or less in political science; and the influx of German, French and Russian emigration has brought with it a knowledge of the Socialistic and Communistic, and even of the Anarchistic, theories that now have so strong and perhaps deadly a hold on the masses of revolutionary Europe. The dissemination of these theories has thus far had no serious practical bearing on our American life; and chiefly for two reasons: because the country has been so prosperous that workingmen's minds have been diverted to other pursuits, and because the methods advocated by the foreign-born champions of Socialism have been so antagonistic to American procedure, and pride also, that they have often repelled rather than converted. But these two reasons now no longer bear sway, and thereby protect existing institutions. The masses are discontented, and educated men are showing them a better way than revolutionary destructiveness. Mr. George is only one among a host of popular teachers who are indoctrinating the "common people" with the most advanced teachings of social science. The hard times force workingmen to inquire "Why?" and the sudden growth of a class of millionaires, who have rendered no productive service to society for their riches, has opened the minds of the workers to evils that formerly they disregarded. And, as Richter says, "when the tale of bricks is doubled Moses is near." They are losing their respect for statutory law with every new charge of corruption against legislative politicians; and it is chiefly the lingering respect for the bench that keeps them back from revolutionary projects. Now, the law's delay means not inconvenience merely, but the absolute denial of justice to the poor. The right of appeal, while it was originally intended to secure justice, or rather, to prevent injustice, has been perverted into an instrument for the prevention of justice to the majority of the people. There will never be any chance for even-handed justice, between a poor man and a rich man, until the right of appeal is utterly abolished—until the decision of a jury or a full bench is absolutely irrevocable, excepting in cases of capital punishment. Of course, some decisions under this rule would work injustice; no class of men are infallible; but not one case of injustice would occur where there was no appeal for every hundred that now occurs. The poor cannot appeal. The right of appeal, practically, has become the prerogative of the wealthy only. It is the poor who feel this wrong and they do not talk about it with philosophic indifference, either.

JOHN BALL, JR.

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MR. EDITOR: Perusal of the article "Prohibition in Politics," in the REVIEW, prompts a word in reply. One misrepresentation is contained in the assertion that the Prohibition Party wanted to help the Democrats. Proof of this is presented in the utterances of party leaders on the stump, rather than by reference to the principles embodied in their platform. But even if you accept the facts stated, it is difficult to understand how these can be twisted into support of the assertion made. To say that "the Republican Party is no better than the Democratic Party on the liquor question," or even to say that "the Republican Party has no principles worthy of support," cannot be interpreted as an approval of the Democratic Party. To call pot black is not calling kettle white, at least to reasonable beings. This misrepresentation is more serious because of the implication that the Prohibitionists have not kept faith with the Republicans. The resolutions to act with the party favoring prohibition, passed by the W. T. C. U. in their annual meetings at Louisville and Detroit, are interpreted as promises to support that party. But, even upon the showing made, there is nothing to warrant this conclusion. The fact that these resolutions were offered is proof of the utter absence of fealty unless the Republican Party should carry out the principles for which Prohibitionists were contending. The unfairness of this reasoning is patent. Another misrepresentation is made in the claim that the Republican Party has done all that has been accomplished for prohibition. That there are many friends of temperance in the Republican Party, is true. That these men are favorable to prohibition, is also true. But that the party has made prohibition a plank in National or State platforms, is not true. Nor is it true that they have given Prohibitionists what they have obtained where prohibition is an accomplished fact. In Maine the prohibitory legislation was enacted before that party had an existence. The attitude of the party there and elsewhere toward prohibition is well expressed in the article on Maine by Joshua L. Chamberlain, in the "Encyclopedia Britannica." "It was inevitable that towards an issue like this parties should take an attitude not always sincere." In Kansas prohibitory legislation was enacted because it was demanded by the people, and not because it was the policy of the party. And in the State platform support is given to prohibition because "it is the will of the people." In Iowa the same is true. Though here the party pledged itself to do the will of the people, yet the constitutional amendment demanded by the people has not been given them. In place of this, the statutory prohibition provided by the legislation of 1885 has been reënacted. The question in the minds of some of the more thoughtful Prohibitionists is, whether the movement has not been retarded by the action of the Republican Party. It is by no means a question how much credit is due for forced goodness.

C. H. MOSCRIP.

MR. EDITOR: Mrs. Stanton seeks to prove that Christianity has not only not benefited woman, but has retarded her progress. Bishop Spalding seeks to prove the opposite. Truth is between. Both speak as if Christianity were a power self-existent, a force poured into this world from without. Christianity, like all other religions, is a mere form of expression of thought, a cry in the multitude, as man sweeps along in the march of the ages. It does not help Mrs.

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Stanton's case to show that the Bible overlooks woman's true dignity and worthiness, that the Church has stood in her path, or that professors of midwifery frown on her to-day. The Church has stood in woman's path as it has stood in the way of all human advancement. Why? Because it is a great organized body, transmitting its powers through generations to men that have been loath to lose that power; opposing human progress, not because Christ's teachings are inimical to man's advance, but because liberal ideas strike at the foundations of this system, which sets itself above men and seeks to control their minds and deeds, with no warrant but an assumed semi-divinity, which Christ never pretended to confer upon it. It would not help Bishop Spalding's case to show, even if he could, that St. Paul glorifies woman; to show, even if he could, that before the Christian era woman was trodden down utterly; to show—as a *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*—that woman has advanced marvelously since A. D. 1, or to rhapsodize in poetry worthy of the Prince of Troubadours. Woman has risen because the race has risen, because human liberty and popular rights have found voice on two continents. Mrs. Stanton recognizes this; but still she indicts Christianity as retarding progress, which is merely to say that man has stumbled in climbing higher, because Christianity is of man and is the fruit of his thought. Let Mrs. Stanton indict the Romish Church (and this she can do without slurring the essential principles of Christianity as shown by Christ's teachings); and let Bishop Spalding demonstrate, if he can, that Christ's teachings embodied really new truths, whose utterance by Him have actually moved the world as no other had or could or would have moved it; and, while issue will not be joined, the present disputants will respectively have their true texts. As usual, the truth of the matter is in a well; and while it is perhaps too much to say that Bishop Spalding did not even suspect its whereabouts, it must be admitted that Mrs. Stanton has at least peeped over the curb. In my view, further investigation would have brought up the fact that the teachings of Christ have influenced woman neither for good nor for bad, nor influenced the world in any marked degree. Truly the utterance of his gentle code of morals awakes responsive echoes in all human hearts and minds, as did the teachings of Confucius and of the gentle Buddha, ages before our era. Many great historic institutions and historic monuments have been superficially named Christian, but native qualities of human nature, not Christ's teachings, will be found to be their sustaining or propelling forces everywhere. We speak of that magnificent system, the Romish Church, as Christian: does its history exemplify Christ's doctrines? Were its masterspirits Christ-like, how long would it endure? We speak of the Crusades as a Christian tidal-wave. Did Christ's teachings impel that wild rush of the West against the East? Hence I say that the Great Teacher's work has been mildly good, not forcefully creative or motive; and that it has made no great and deep imprint, in any line of human advance, for good or for ill.

JAMES T. ALLINGHAM.

MR. EDITOR: It has seldom been my lot to read so short a paper containing

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so many errors as that by Prof. Laughlin on the silver question. Let me enumerate them: 1. That the ratio of value between gold and silver has changed wholly by reason of a decline in silver. The contrary is the fact. Gold has advanced much more than silver has declined, and Prof. Laughlin is the only respectable authority that seems to be oblivious to that fact. 2. That silver would be a "fluctuating standard." The inference is that gold is not a fluctuating standard—the same fallacy as in No. 1. 3. That if silver coinage is continued, gold will go out of circulation, and thereby, "the credit of the United States will be impaired." How? Why? The United States has promised, by the most solemn legal enactments, undoubtedly penned by the agents of the public creditors themselves, to pay every dollar of its indebtedness in either gold or silver coin, at its (the Government's) option. The whole of the Government debt has been refunded with that express agreement. How can it impair the credit of a government to do precisely as it agrees to do? 4. The introduction of the silver standard would produce "a demoralizing change in prices." The whole business and industrial fabric of the world has been badly demoralized for a considerable time by the appreciation of gold, and a consequent shrinkage of general values. A rise in prices can only demoralize creditors, who are only one in one hundred of the population, and that one is rarely engaged in active business. Is not the demoralization greatest which affects ninety-nine persons, rather than that which affects but one? 5. "The laboring classes will suffer." This is certainly not true. A rise in the scale of prices always benefits the laborers, the tax-payers and property-owners. This is a rule without an exception. No economic fact is better ascertained and more certain. 6. (Repeated.) Silver fluctuates more than gold. The most authentic statistics and tests applied for the past fifteen years prove the contrary. United States Mint statistics for the decade 1870 to 1879, show that gold fluctuated in its purchasing power during that ten years, from 91.7 to 116.2, or by 24½ per cent.; while silver fluctuated from 89.1 to 100, or by 10.9 per cent. only. 7. His diagram is based on the assumption that gold has been invariable, which is simply ridiculous in view of the actual facts. 8. The passage of the Bland bill "simply made it necessary that the Treasury should be gorged before the silver can get out upon the community at large." There are fewer than fifty millions of silver dollars now in the Treasury subject to be paid out, except in redemption of silver certificates. All the remainder of the silver dollars are in practical circulation by means of certificates. Is it possible that fifty millions of silver can gorge the Treasury? Is it possible that the one hundred and forty to one hundred and fifty millions now in practical circulation, became so only because of a gorge and an overflow? Then again: If a gorge of the Treasury vaults is possible or probable, why does not the Secretary prevent it by paying out the silver dollars in liquidation of Government obligations now due and legally and honorably payable with silver dollars? How can the silver dollars get out "upon the community at large," unless the Secretary of the Treasury discharges his sworn duty and pays the Government's debts? 9. Greenbacks "now redeemable in gold." Greenbacks are redeemable in either gold or silver dollars, at the option of the Government. The statement that they are "now redeemable in gold" is an assertion not supported

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by law, common-sense, or morality. 10. The Government coin debt is payable in gold, because "no silver dollars were in circulation from before 1850 to 1878, during which period our bonds were marketed." No bonds worth mentioning were marketed between 1850 and 1861; and I think not a dollar of indebtedness created in that period remains unpaid. Speaking approximately, the whole of the existing Government debt was created at a time when neither gold nor silver was in circulation. So if the Professor's reasoning is good, no part of the present Government debt is payable in either gold or silver, because neither was in circulation when the bonds were marketed!

T. B. BUCHANAN.

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